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Patronage, Performance, and Scholarship

Leon Botstein

Repetition may very well be indispensable to the achievement of wisdom. Regular readers of MQ deserve an apology for the appearance of recurrent themes in the Notes section of the journal. But I am writing it at the turn of a new year and some issues do not seem to go away. Certain commitments merit rehearsal. What follows is a New Year's greeting to our readers.

Despite the explosive expansion of access to materials about music and music history—from YouTube postings, MP3 files, new recordings, and the growing library of free sheet music for download—there is no diminuendo in the chorus of fear regarding the future of classical music. This familiar theme will not go away, despite the staggering display of fresh talent on the concert and opera stage, the success of educational schemes such as El Sistema, and the uninterrupted flow of new music by composers, young and old.

When one looks closer, the problem is usually understood as one of audiences. We are told that they are getting older, and that they are dying out. That concern applies to an expectation based on the size of concert halls and opera stages built in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, whose seating capacity is between 1,500 and 3,000 seats. Indeed, the economics of performance with respect to large-scale repertory—orchestral music, opera, and choral music—are daunting. Musicians require a decent level of compensation and there are no economies to be made. The rise in costs—the result of inflation—cannot be passed on to the ticket buyer. There are also no economies of scale or increased efficiency and productivity. In any event, in the most expensive forms, notably opera, the ticket prices are already too high and prohibitive for most people. Our large halls are difficult to fill.

Furthermore, it is not clear that audiences were ever younger. I happen not to think that gaining audiences is the problem. More to the

point is the question whether it is possible to recruit more of those among us who are getting older and living longer into participating in musical life as listeners and perhaps even amateur performers.

This brings us to the age-old complaint about music education, in the schools and on the university level. That complaint has understandably not lost its persuasive force. El Sistema is hailed less for its effectiveness in music education than for its success in using music, particularly the participatory and social aspects of music making, as an instrument of social betterment and cohesion, a means of offering hope to the young among the disenfranchised and the poor.

As is evident from enrollment trends in American universities, the traditional study of Western music, from music appreciation to theory and history, continues to be on the decline among the privileged classes who go to college in the first place. And there is little help forthcoming from our colleagues in other fields of the humanities. One can still take courses in the literature, art, and history of, for example, the nineteenth century without a mention of anything having to do with music. There are fewer nonmajors in courses on Western "serious" music, and more competition for such student interest from other fields in the study of music. All this helps diminish the future supply of adults interested in concert life.

The deficit in undergraduate interest mirrors patterns in the scholarly study of music (and with it, its teaching). Understood in conventional terms, despite its modernization—the integration of concerns regarding sexuality, ethnicity, and other issues common to the study of politics, sociology, and history—the scholarly study of music seems headed either for oblivion or irrelevancy. How many readers are there for the scholarship we produce? If all this were not cause enough for alarm, one source of advocacy—journalism—is, with respect to music, even worse off. Not only are there fewer critics, but the level of criticism and writing about music has never been so low and tendentious, particularly on the internet.

Classical music seems to have become the exclusive province of eccentric snobs and partisans, narrowly focused scholars, and an ever-shrinking cadre of wealthy lay spectators whose tastes appear to be limited to the few rising and stylish stars who make their reputations performing a small array of standard works. This aura of exclusivity may please some, but we would be well advised to protect "serious" music from its current defenders. What persists today on the concert stage continues to cast a darkening shadow over the actual history of the art of music.

It is amusing to consult a two-volume work by Frederick B. Emery, first published in 1928 (and reprinted in 1969) entitled *The Violin Concerto*. This compendium is itself hardly complete, but it is extensive.

And it is amazing to encounter the number of concertos in the literature that probably deserve a new look, if not a performance. If one widens the timeframe beyond 1928, one discovers rare jewels. Searching for concerti leads to wonderful finds, including works by an eclectic group of composers such as Fartein Valen, Willy Burkhard, Jean Martinon, Ernst Krenek, Erkki Melartin, Roger Sessions, Hermann Suter, Kurt Atterberg, Roberto Gerhard, Ottmar Schoeck, and even Adolf Busch. (I also recommend the highly entertaining and revealing work, Emery's *Violinist's Encyclopedic Dictionary of over 6000 Items* from 1925, a tribute to the widespread amateur community of the era.) Neither of these crucial sources seem to have been used by David Schoenbaum in his otherwise delightful new book, *The Violin: A Social History of the World's Most Versatile Instrument*. This 2013 volume (which I hope does well) is welcome, even though it does not quite match Arthur Loesser's classic work on the piano—a daunting standard to meet for a book for the general reader (whoever that may be today). But Schoenbaum's book is deserving of much more than faint praise.

To turn to the bright side: The good news is that one of the benefits of modern technology is the recognition that a recording is not in itself an adequate surrogate for the experience of music. The startling explosion in numbers and types of recordings has helped advance the awareness that a recording is useful as a reference tool and a document, much the way a snapshot is of a family event. Any copy of a musical event on video or a MP3 file now suffices; there is little remaining fascination with high-fidelity efforts to approximate acoustic sound. Sergiu Celibidache was one of the first to tell the truth about this. He compared listening to a recording and thinking that this was music to having sex with a photograph of Brigitte Bardot and thinking that that was what all the fuss was about. Therefore, if we are going to delight in and revive our own museum—our own history—works such as those listed above have to be programmed and played in live concerts. Live performance is the proper object and business of music.

And there is no shortage of players who can do this and would be willing to do so. Only ignorance and cowardice justify the claims of those who say that if one does not repeat the well-known works, the audience will not come. The danger of an ever-increasing conservatism about the repertoire and a pervasive name-brand obsession is perhaps greatest in the place where our hopes are highest: China. In a recent conversation with the artistic director of a new opera house in China set to open soon, it was evident that no work outside of some “top thirty” operas were deemed acceptable. The works not considered ranged from *La clemenza di Tito* to *Arabella* and *Wozzeck*. One can forget about

reviving Saint-Saëns's *Henry VIII* or, heaven forbid, Sergey Taneyev's *Oresteia*. The plain truth is that the audience is as hungry as musicians are for some relief in the routine, particularly in the symphony concert and opera house. And repeating the repertoire ultimately will drive the audience away; no masterpiece of music was ever written to survive relentless repetition.

At the core of the problem is not the audience or a shortage of a potential audience. Neither is the problem a resistance among performers. True innovation and risk taking with respect to concert and operatic life have been decimated by the collapse in patronage. The real crisis facing the performance of music and musical culture derives from the perfect storm in terms of the economics of large-scale music making. Governments in Europe that have subsidized music are under severe pressure and are cutting back. In the United States, there never has been real government support. By the same token, whatever taxpayer-based subsidy exists in the United States is at risk and the prospect of future assistance has become the province of delusional fantasy.

The deeper problem is with private patronage. Monarchy is gone, as is landed aristocracy. In any event, their penchant for culture was on the decline already at the end of the nineteenth century. The Princess de Polignac has no successor. Neither does Andrew Carnegie or Alice Tully. Instead of enthusiastic wealthy amateur musician patrons in the tradition of the founders of Vienna's *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* in the early nineteenth century and the American captains of industry who sustained musical culture between 1880 and the 1950s, we have a spectacular number of highly wealthy individuals in the mold of San Francisco's Thomas Weisel, whose passion is sports, both as an activity for himself and as an object of support. He backed professional cycling generously and, famously, Lance Armstrong, including the latter's charities. What we have in music are, at best, collectors of rare instruments who do not play them and lend them, charitably, to artists to use. But that welcome gesture does little to sustain the basic economics of the essential performing and presenting institutions associated with symphonic and operatic music.

The rich of today are not interested in the traditions of serious and classical music. And if they are, their interests tend toward opera and assume a Hollywood aspect—an enthusiasm for visual spectacle, stars, and hits. The newest rage, the HD video of opera, is not actually opera; it is a new variant and depresses attendance at live performances, distorts the art form, and reminds us of the enthusiasm in the past for the high-fidelity LP, a trend that damaged the appreciation of live performance.

The rich between the ages of 30 and 70 care for rock and popular music and its history, for the visual arts, and for the moving picture. The noncommercial arts—serious music, and to a lesser extent dance and theater—are in the process of being orphaned, despite the inequality of wealth that has spawned an elite of the super-rich and ample evidence that if access to concerts and opera could really be made affordable, there would be no empty seats, even for an opera by Franz Schreker or a concert of music by Henry Cowell.

We can expect no help advocating the culture of music from journalists. Help has to come from performers and scholars. Together, we need to make the case for a reform and revival of concert life, for the expansion of the repertoire, the redesign of concert formats and venues, and the task of drawing the public to our work, without snobbery and pretension. This mix of reform and innovation is necessary in order to sustain new patronage.

A first step can be found in what we teach and what we write about. Is the audience for scholarship just our own circle of competitors or would-be competitors? Should not what we write about have some consequence, either in what is heard or how it is heard and understood? Is it not our task to bring music to life in new ways? Is not the endpoint (beyond the pleasure of the scholarly chase) the delight and edification of listeners and amateurs in the experience of music? Why not aim for the same success with adults who are novices in music (such as first-year college and university students) that we often have teaching children, who delight easily in music? The democratization of information through technology is our ally. The task has never been made so easy.

To do any of this we need to persuade the many potential patrons who are out there. But to do so we need to have new ideas and objectives and must be persuaded by the importance of what we do, despite the apparent gap between music and social utility. Among the most distressing and disturbing provocations published in the *New York Times* was an article in the 7 December 2012 paper that quoted the Princeton philosopher Peter Singer, notorious for his otherwise admirable penchant for generating controversy, declaring that the support of the arts was irrelevant, that it was not real philanthropy and not worthy of encouragement by the state in the form of the tax deductibility of contributions. It would require the talent for irony of a Vladimir Nabokov to unmask this nonsense properly and to demolish its claims to ethical plausibility. But the fact that Singer had no difficulty making these claims seem uncontroversial shows the extent to which what we do has become marginal and expendable.

Amidst such an effort, we need to renew the defense of true scholarship, particularly of the seemingly arcane. Research and learning do not become compelling on account of the fleeting and superficial timeliness of a question or an argument. Sheer curiosity about something initially obscure is not only something that is deeply engaging and possibly beautiful, but it often leads to something remarkable. Consider a minor matter concerning the career of Gustav Mahler. Everyone in the field knows that he made his own edition of Carl Maria von Weber's *Euryanthe* during his tenure at the Vienna Opera. For decades, no one has looked at the performance materials, in part because they seem to have vanished. My colleague Christopher H. Gibbs noticed that Mahler's score had been included in Vienna in 1960 in an exhibition commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the composer's birth. But the Vienna State Opera archives had no record of it. The exhibition catalogue included an old Austrian National Library number, and Gibbs's colleague, Morten Solvik, went on a systematic search. After several dead ends, he found not only one but two scores from the era of the Vienna Mahler production, one clearly containing Mahler's annotations.

When I went to Vienna to inspect these materials I chanced to look at the orchestral parts as well. Scholars know that orchestral musicians have the habit—one that continues to this day—of not merely entering fingerings, dynamics, articulations, and tempo changes but of scribbling gratuitous comments in their parts. These are rarely flattering and mostly attempts at humor. Looking at the parts from the early twentieth century and then at the score and orchestral material of the 1823 premiere in Vienna, I discovered a treasure trove of information, ranging from phrasing and bowing practices, expressive conventions, to the unwanted running commentary of players.

These rediscovered materials, which have languished in obscurity for more than fifty years, might end up being the basis for a reconsideration of performance practices at the fin de siècle, particularly vis-à-vis the early Romantic repertoire, a better understanding of Mahler the conductor, and new insight into the attitudes of professional instrumentalists in pre-1914 Vienna. Someone interested in performing Mahler and Weber may well find something new to say through this material.

Most of all, this discovery could lead to a revival of *Euryanthe* for the stage. On account of this find, the Bard Music Festival is considering it for a future season. This opera has always been admired for its music, but attempts to revive it successfully, including Mahler's effort, have failed. The blame has been placed on the libretto. And it is precisely in this area that Mahler, with the help of Max Kalbeck, the critic,

translator (famously for the Mozart repertoire into German), biographer of Brahms, and editor of the writings of the satirist Daniel Spitzer, made most of the changes. In addition, Mahler cut, reordered, and rewrote some of the music and the libretto. Perhaps *Euryanthe*, as edited by Mahler, can be produced and staged, now that these performance materials have been located. And perhaps MQ will have the honor of publishing the first results of a close scholarly examination of these materials in advance of a contributory volume of essays that Gibbs and Solvik intend to edit and publish.

It is probably not too redundant to underscore that scholarship of this sort also needs and deserves patronage, as do the libraries, archives, and publications that keep basic and fundamental research in the disciplines of the humanities alive. On all fronts—on the stage, in the classroom, and in the archives—music must find its patrons and inaugurate a new era of invention, significance, and vitality through their generosity.

In this regard, it should be noted, as a type of postscript, that Sony Classic's release of a 2009 French film on a subject concerning "serious" music and a composer's life, *Coco Chanel and Igor Stravinsky*, on the presumed romantic and sexual relationship between the designer and composer, was a welcome surprise, though the film did not do well. Given the success of Stephen Spielberg's more recent *Lincoln* film, one would wish for a blockbuster box office-breaking equivalent from the history of music. If only Spielberg or Ken Burns (who did a popular series on jazz) would chose a worthy topic. It might assist in the development of a concert-going and reading public with respect to music and give the music enterprise some long overdue and much needed glamour.

The film *Lincoln* suggests the value—should the opportunity arise—for good scholarly advice. For example, it turns out, as Sean Wilentz noted, that Lincoln indeed knew Euclid's text by heart and carried a copy with him, even though the book on which the film was based did not mention this fact. Spielberg and Tony Kushner got much of the history right. *Coco Chanel and Igor Stravinsky* might have been helped by better research. First-rate scholarship would either have deterred anyone from making a film on this subject or provided more alluring and intriguing details about the life and work of both figures. But the failings of the film were not entirely ones of historical accuracy; the film was based on a novel, after all. The problem was that the story was oppressively commonplace and predictable—a famous, self-centered artist, a "genius" with a dutiful devoted wife and small children has an affair with a glamorous and lionized professional. It all begins and ends in an unexceptional manner. The material is boring. It was, in terms of history, marginal at best. Stravinsky comes off rather better as a person

than he deserves. Some of the historical touches were delightful—the way Diaghilev looked, Stravinsky's implements on his desk, the role of the piano in his work as a composer, some of the sets and costumes, the onsite locations, and the reprise of the "dentist" comments at the *Sacre* premiere were among them. And it was great to see three languages spoken comprehensibly—for the most part—in one film.

But in the end, a real opportunity was missed. Chanel was more than a perfume and Stravinsky more than the *Rite*, which in this film he appears to have been composing still well into the 1920s. But their relationship was not of a character to justify the lame retrospective glimpses at the end when both characters were old and frail. In short, the film was weak not because it violated history; rather, if history had been the guide, as in *Lincoln*, a powerful subject and dramatic frame could have been found perhaps even for Stravinsky. The premiere of the *Rite* might have been the right choice, but the Chanel connection had too little weight and was not the life-changing romance that the film implied. True scholarship pays off, just as reality is usually more astonishing than fiction. As Isaac Bashevis Singer once quipped, "if you have to make it up, you have no talent." The Chanel episode was just too made up.

The history of music and music making has far better and far racier stories to tell, as Hollywood once realized, and even better stories from which to invent, as Hollywood also once realized. Consider Hollywood's entirely fictional account of Chopin's career in the film *A Song to Remember* from the 1950s. Yet *Coco Chanel and Igor Stravinsky* was welcome as a harbinger of more film entertainment of this sort, one with as obvious and engaging a sound track. If only more of Stravinsky's music had been used, the film might have been more palatable. Imagine an HBO or BBC series of the *Sopranos* or *Downton Abbey* sort where musical culture is at the center!

But we should be cautious. We might be stuck with a latter-day version of *Amadeus*.

Responses to Adversity: The Polish Composers Union and Musical Life in the 1970s and 1980s

Cindy Bylander

The Polish Composers Union's Executive Board, at a special plenary session, has evaluated the proclamation of the Polish Artists Union, which was the first association of creators to support the striking workers on the coast. Given the new sociopolitical situation in the country, the Executive Board declares its full solidarity with the position of the Artists Union. While expressing satisfaction with news of the conflict's end, the Executive Board simultaneously believes that many of the country's pressing problems, including those concerning its culture, now have a chance for successful resolution.¹

These words come from a motion approved by the Polish Composers Union on 1 September 1980, the day after the signing of the Gdańsk Agreement between the Polish government and shipyard workers on the Baltic Coast. As a result of this accord, workers were given the right to create independent unions and the government agreed to end censorship and improve access to the media. Józef Patkowski, then the president of the Composers Union, later described this decree as "the first harbinger of the Composers Union's active participation in the country's political life."² This statement is true. In post-World War II Poland, the union had not previously issued declarations or taken other official actions supporting the country's political opposition, nor had it openly supported the government. Prior to September 1980, however, other creative associations in Poland, including the writers and artists unions, had publicly voiced their dissatisfaction with actions undertaken by the regime. Social turmoil had been slowly encompassing the country since at least 1968, when repressive measures had been taken against both Jews and the intelligentsia, and Warsaw Pact troops had invaded Czechoslovakia.³ Composers themselves had been affected the same year, when boycotts by Western musicians had forced the curtailing of

the renowned Warsaw Autumn International Festival of Contemporary Music.⁴ Delays in receiving permission to go abroad and shortages of materials such as paper, recordings, and books were among the hindrances routinely faced by Composers Union members. The union itself was forced to deal on an ongoing basis with governmental agencies that were either unwilling or unable to fulfill the requests of its constituents. Given these obstacles, why did the Composers Union not join its sister creative associations in expressing displeasure with the state of affairs before 1980? Furthermore, what happened in the years after the resolution cited above was issued?

In the past twenty years, documentary materials have come to light that chronicle the emergence in the late 1970s of what eventually became the Solidarity trade union, its attempted repression by the Polish government during martial law, and its continued impact on society throughout the 1980s. The extensive amount of archival information now available about the activities of the Composers Union has been enriched by published and unpublished recollections from participants in the cultural life of that era.⁵ This evidence, augmented by memorabilia from Polish musical life of the 1980s, reveals the tactics that the Composers Union used in dealing with the government in the 1970s and 1980s. It also shows that a shift in the union's strategy at the beginning of the 1980s came about at least in part due to a change in its leadership made at a crucial time in the country's history. After Solidarity gained a legal foothold in the country, the Composers Union willingly engaged in society's push to reform governmental policies. Ultimately, however, the union's leadership proved to be more cautious than other creative groups as it maneuvered through the political and social challenges of the 1980s. Some composers and musicologists chose not to follow the union's lead, particularly when the organization returned to its previous *modus operandi* of restraint in the political arena. Their individual initiatives, a vital part of the unsanctioned cultural scene, reveal that the union's official statements did not always reflect the personal beliefs of its own leadership. This disparity between corporate and individual actions also illuminates the facile crossing of boundaries between official and unofficial activities, and even the blurring of these demarcations, that helped sustain Polish musical life during these years of crisis.

Creators versus the Regime

The politicization of creative unions was a distinctive, if unwanted feature of Polish cultural life during this time. Interactions between the

government and the Polish Writers Union proved to be the most antagonistic. Up to 20 percent of the union's members also belonged to the Polish United Workers Party (hereafter, Party), which was the Polish version of the Communist Party then in control of the government. In 1968, despite the disapproval of some of its members, the Writers Union had protested the government's aforementioned repressive actions. By 1978, half of this union's executive board consisted of Party members, who attempted to block the group's efforts to support the incipient Solidarity union. In 1975, noted writers, artists, and other intellectuals had signed a letter of protest against planned changes to the constitution, which would sanction Poland's dependence on the Soviet Union. The only composers who signed this letter were Stefan Kisielewski and Zygmunt Mycielski, but each did so in their roles as authors of antigovernmental essays. They were blacklisted as a result, a move that affected both their literary and compositional careers.⁶

Censorship was an ongoing concern in all creative fields. Literature had become an ideological front for the government, which exercised strict control over what was published and how it was distributed.⁷ However, following the government's violent repression of workers in 1976, writers and artists reacted by creating an uncensored publishing network, known as the *drugi obieg* (second circulation). With this endeavor, the state monopoly on cultural activities was broken. From 1977 until August 1980, nearly four hundred books and journals were published via this network. During the fifteen months when Solidarity operated openly and throughout the 1980s, these numbers reached into the thousands.⁸ As author Kazimierz Brandys has stated, those who contributed to underground publications were responding to the ethical dilemma of whether to preserve their current practice of remaining silent, on the government payroll, or to create a "legacy of honor" by acting upon their desire for freedom.⁹

Party members were also present in Poland's film, art, and actors unions. Although in 1978 acclaimed director Andrzej Wajda was elected president of the Filmmakers Association, his actions were met with resistance from the government until he stepped down in 1983. Some movies and plays were banned in the late 1970s, but others that were shown succeeded in conveying issues related to the country's current political problems.¹⁰ A popular alternative theater group, the student-funded Theater of the Eighth Day, circumvented censors by offering sanitized versions of their work for official approval, but presenting more controversial renditions to live audiences. Although this group encountered harassments such as arrests, confiscations, and even official

liquidation, it continued to operate clandestinely throughout the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s.¹¹

Membership in the Composers Union

The field of contemporary music held a unique position among the Polish arts. Since the post-Stalinist thaw in the mid-1950s, composers had faced few, if any, restrictions in compositional style. Witold Lutosławski and Krzysztof Penderecki, along with many of their lesser-known colleagues—such as Tadeusz Baird, Kazimierz Serocki, Marek Stachowski, Zygmunt Krauze, and, in the 1980s, Krzysztof Knittel and Paweł Szymański—were also able to travel abroad regularly for performances and study.¹²

The Composers Union strove to support the professional lives of composers and musicologists. A legally constituted entity, its official range of activities was defined by government-approved statutes. Funded by the Ministry of Culture and Art, it provided a library and free medical care, organized festivals and other concerts, and offered financial assistance in times of need.¹³ Its members sat on the program committee of the state-owned music publishers Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne (PWM), which was able to publish sacred and avant-garde compositions, a phenomenon almost unheard of in other Eastern European countries. One of the union's own committees recommended pieces to be released by Polskie Nagrania, the government-approved recording company. A jury of union members and Ministry of Culture and Art representatives decided which composers would receive commissions.¹⁴

Perhaps the most important of the Composers Union's panels was the Qualifying Committee, which determined who could join the organization. At various times during the 1970s and 1980s, Lutosławski, Baird, Serocki, Mycielski, and musicologist Mieczysław Tomaszewski, all opponents of many of the government's policies, were on this committee.¹⁵ Although archival evidence from the union's biennial general assemblies reflects internal grumblings about the requirements for admission and advancement,¹⁶ it does not allude to a crucial yet unofficial selection criterion that contributed substantially to the union's relative autonomy in Polish cultural life. As recounted in recent years by union members, the Party's Central Committee routinely attempted to insert Party members into both the group's general membership and its executive board.¹⁷ The union's leadership believed that if Party members dominated the executive board or such decisive committees as those governing membership or stipend dispensation, the advantages of

compositional freedom and international exposure attained in the mid-1950s might become compromised. As Tomaszewski recalled, "Each successive election was played out as . . . a battle for Poland against Communism. . . . Every two years, the Central Committee attempted to breach the position of the union."¹⁸ To prevent such unwanted penetration, the Qualifying Committee considered not only the musical qualifications of the candidates but also their political views. Those thought to favor the Party's policies were usually not admitted. Moreover, potential executive board candidates, elected every two years by the union's membership, were often vetted at preelection meetings held at Lutosławski's home.¹⁹ As a result of these efforts, few union members favored the government's policies. Perhaps understandably, these discussions were not written down.²⁰

One important ramification of these endeavors was the political autonomy of the union's presidents, who were never Party members.²¹ This situation differed markedly from the Composers Union in the Soviet Union, whose longtime president Tikhon Khrennikov was also a member of that country's Central Committee. Nonetheless, the Polish Composers Union did include Party members and others who sympathized with at least some of the government's policies. From 1971 to 1985, Party member Władysław Słowiński was the Composers Union's secretary-general, and thus an executive board member, who handled much of the group's day-to-day business. In 1973, the Central Committee's Cultural Department appointed a Party unit within the Composers Union, to which all Party members in the union belonged. This group, however, did not seem to favor Party policies over those of the Composers Union, nor did the union's leadership express any concern about its opinions, at least on record.²² As can be seen throughout the union's archival materials, Słowiński, the most influential member of the Party unit, was always loyal to the needs of the organization. As secretary-general, he frequently interceded with governmental officials on the union's behalf. As a Party member, he was positioned to recognize which governmental employees could be most helpful for the union's specific needs.²³ Tomaszewski, when recalling his friendship with two of the union's Party members, suggested that their personal living situations may have prompted their association with the political party more than any rigid belief in its policies. The same scenario probably existed for some of the other Party members in the union as well. At the same time, at least a few non-Party members favored governmental policies at some point during their careers, even as they remained dedicated members of the Composers Union. Among these men were Piotr Perkowski and Witold Rudziński, both of whom had been members of

the union for its entire post–World War II existence.²⁴ Although the level of support given to the union by its members may not have correlated directly to the ardency of their antigovernmental sentiments, the efforts of the Qualifying Committee ensured that the union's policies were not overly influenced by advocates of government programs. This preservation of independence from Party pressures has been recalled by union members as one of the organization's greatest achievements from 1960 to 1985, the period in which Stefan Sledziński, Jan Stęszewski, and Józef Patkowski were its presidents.²⁵

These three leaders—Sledziński, Stęszewski, and Patkowski—were musicologists. As will be shown below, their peers in that profession played roles of equal importance to composers both in the life of the union and in unsanctioned cultural events. They also were the targets of governmental harassment at least as often as, if not more frequently, than composers.

Preservation through Neutrality: The Composers Union in the 1970s

Throughout the 1970s, an unwritten code of behavior characterized the Composers Union's relationship to the government. The public face the union presented was one of intentional neutrality, neither supporting nor denouncing the country's cultural policies. Although composers and musicologists did not always unanimously support the union's leaders, their frustrations were not aired publicly. Even Lutosławski and Penderecki, whose international fame would likely have muted any negative response from the Polish government, refrained from making critical remarks in public settings.

Although Composers Union members always hoped to improve the conditions of musical life in their country, removing the Polish United Workers Party from power was not part of their agenda. At official meetings held behind the scenes, they concerned themselves with preserving their livelihood within an undesirable system of governance. At the opening session of each biennial general assembly, a high-ranking government official, usually the Minister of Culture and Art, praised the achievements of contemporary Polish music at home and abroad, then almost invariably credited the government for having provided excellent conditions for both freedom of artistic expression and material support.²⁶ In contrast, members spoke of shortages of supplies and difficulties in arranging publications and performances. Polish Radio and TV, Polskie Nagranie, and PWM were frequently criticized for their alleged poor support of both composers and musicologists.²⁷ The resolutions approved

by each assembly, considered to be public pronouncements of the union's plans for the next two years, reflected these concerns but omitted overt criticism of the government. Ideological sentiments were supplanted by more tangible concerns. In the 1970s, these resolutions included requests for improvements in music education, additional opportunities for performance, publication, and recording, and an increased supply of paper for union members and PWM. Other recommendations concerned the development of exchanges with composers unions in other socialist countries, the renewal of a contract with the Polish military, and, at the end of the decade, the creation of a new music magazine.²⁸

At meetings held with the Ministry of Culture and Art, the Central Committee's Cultural Department, Polish Radio, PWM, and other institutions, union representatives were forthright but generally polite as they sought to carry out the instructions provided in the assembly's resolutions.²⁹ Unfortunately, these meetings and other communications did not always yield the desired results. Given the circumspect nature of these interactions, government official could easily ignore the union's appeals, although to be fair, they were helpful at times. The union did not obtain a photocopier until at least the mid-1980s despite more than a decade of appeals; shipments of manuscript paper arrived rarely; and PWM consistently had difficulty fulfilling its ambitious business plans, which affected royalties for both composers and musicologists. Stipends were withheld and passports were delayed or rejected even if the applicant had the requisite invitation from abroad.³⁰ In 1975, the Minister of Culture and Art, Józef Tejchma, warned Stęszewski that the prime minister had reservations about continuing to provide funds for electronic music, claiming that it was not art. Although this matter was resolved favorably, it alarmed the union and reinforced its decision to defend compositional freedom.³¹ Henryk Schiller summed up more than two decades of frustration with governmental bureaucracy when he said at the 1979 general assembly:

The battle is permanently the same, [always] salvaging things before a catastrophe is time-consuming and exhausting. . . . Several times in recent years I participated in meetings with representatives of the highest authorities of our country. . . . The problems we presented were always accepted with complete understanding. . . . Their realization proved to be necessary and urgent. However, when these problems were brought to lower levels of government, they always awakened great doubt and opposition. As a result, their resolution was dragged out for months and even years.³²

The practice of self-censorship was also evident, as union members often refrained from saying or doing anything that might result in unwanted backlash from the government. According to Kisielewski and Sierpiński, participants at the February 1971 general assembly recognized that certain topics were safe to discuss, while others were not. Sierpiński, in an unusually candid essay about that meeting published in *Ruch muzyczny* (Musical Movement), noted:

After the speeches [about the history of the Composers Union and the role of the union in contemporary musical culture] a discussion was scheduled. Three times Lutosławski, the session's chair, encouraged those present to speak. Those in the room responded with silence. After a break, three (!) people managed to come forth. They spoke, after all, about rather trivial matters that were already well known. . . . Who is going to tell the authorities about the disturbing events in our musical life if, for three days during the Polish Composers Union's general assembly, no one spoke of the alarming situation in Warsaw's National Philharmonic? [Why didn't anyone speak] about the catastrophic state of the staff in the Higher Schools of Music and the function of musicians in the mutual administration of our art in our country, etc.? After all, these matters are universally known and continually discussed in private gatherings, behind closed doors. Is conformity falsely accepted as "camaraderie" or as absolute neutrality?³³

The reticence of the assembly attendees in 1971 can be attributed in part to the tensions that existed in Poland following strikes by workers on the Baltic Coast in December 1970, which had resulted in fatalities and prompted a change of leadership in the government. Such hesitation is understandable, given that the Composers Union meeting was held immediately after Central Committee sessions that resulted in the replacement of several high-ranking officials. Both gatherings were held at a time when the country was still unsettled by ongoing strikes.³⁴ However, similar behavior also occurred at the 1977 general assembly, when no one initially spoke at a discussion period devoted to union activities. At least one composer, Zbigniew Penhowski, believed this was because the crucial issues facing the union were impossible to resolve.³⁵

The desire of the union's leadership to preserve the organization by avoiding repercussions from the government manifested itself in other decisions as well. Still in the tension-filled year of 1971, the executive board abandoned a plan to work with Radio Free Europe after complaints from other members, who did not want to upset the authorities.³⁶ Though this was, perhaps, a tactical decision given the existing political situation, the presence on Radio Free Europe's staff of Roman

Palester, an émigré composer expelled from the Composers Union in 1951, was also a factor, inasmuch as the composer was considered *persona non grata* by the Polish government. Tadeusz Kaczyński, a musicologist and music critic who was not timid in the face of adversity, had already paid a price for his support of the composer, for after interviewing him in 1963, the Polish government had retaliated by preventing him from traveling abroad for six years.³⁷

Some potentially divisive issues were deemed important enough to pursue, however. In 1977, the executive board, aided by Kaczyński, finally convinced the authorities, after years of requests, to permit compositions by Palester and Andrzej Panufnik to be performed in Poland. In 1978 and 1979, the board agreed to cover the costs of copying scores and parts of works by Mycielski and Kisielewski despite its awareness of the government's antagonism toward these men.³⁸ By agreeing to these plans, or overlooking them in some cases, the government demonstrated its willingness to tolerate a certain level of resistance as long as these matters were handled quietly. This dividing line between acceptable public and private behavior was rarely breached by the Composers Union before 1980.

Individual Responses in Official Musical Life in the 1970s

Similar decorum was followed by most members in their professional lives. Lutosławski's conduct became a guidepost for the behavior of Composers Union members. Vice president of the union from 1973 to 1979, he remained in the background whenever possible, refusing to do anything that favored the government, but also not doing anything publicly that might anger its officials. He refused to sign the 1975 letter protesting constitutional changes.³⁹ In 1977, he declined an invitation to run for the Sejm, the Polish legislature. The same year, he tried, albeit unsuccessfully, to decline his country's highest civil honor, the Order of the Builders of People's Poland, whose earlier winners had been military or Party members. In his opinion, accepting the honor would carry the unwanted perception of support for the government.⁴⁰

Penderecki, who also declined to sign protest letters, was not an active participant in the union's affairs. He used his influence, however, in other ways to support his colleagues. In 1975, he successfully requested additional monies from the Ministry of Culture and Art to support Kraków's Higher School of Music, where he was rector.⁴¹ He also persuaded the government to stop infiltrating the school's staff, making this the only music college in Poland whose faculty was

completely independent of the Party.⁴² As a composer, he completed several works on sacred themes during this time, including *Utrenja*, *Magnificat*, *Paradise Lost*, and *Te Deum*. These were met with only limited interference from the government, a situation that was not unusual for Polish sacred compositions following the international acclaim given Penderecki's *St. Luke Passion* in 1966.⁴³ In his 1980 *Te Deum*, dedicated to the newly elected Polish pope, he intentionally displayed his antigovernment sentiments by including an excerpt from the Polish patriotic hymn, "Boże coś Polskę" (God Save Poland), in which he used the forbidden refrain "Return our homeland and freedom to us, Lord" instead of the approved version, "Bless our free homeland, Lord."⁴⁴ PWM was able to print Penderecki's version by persuading the censor, who wanted to revert to the sanctioned phrase, to allow the more audacious words to be placed within the context of the score if the complete text was omitted from its introductory materials. Although PWM's publications of *St. Luke Passion*, *Utrenja*, and *Dies Irae* had featured their complete texts before the score, the politically explosive nature of Penderecki's choice of words for *Te Deum* precluded such prominent positioning. According to Tomaszewski, the government's desire to avoid negative international publicity concerning Penderecki most likely led to this compromise rather than to outright rejection of the publication.⁴⁵ As shown with these few observations, although Penderecki's means of supporting Poland's musicians differed from Lutosławski's, neither composer wavered in his belief that the country's governing system left much to be desired.

Penderecki's colleagues in higher education were not always treated with the same respect. Andrzej Dobrowolski, the union's secretary-general from 1954 to 1968 and a professor of theory and composition at Warsaw's Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Muzyczna (State Higher School of Music), resigned from that school in 1976 after the Party refused to allow him to be rector. He subsequently went to Austria to teach, although he returned frequently to Poland.⁴⁶

As Adrian Thomas has related, Henryk Mikołaj Górecki's acceptance of a commission from Cardinal Wojtyła brought recriminations, for the agreement called for a work commemorating the nine hundredth anniversary of the murder of Bishop Stanisław, a cleric revered for his antigovernmental stance. Although Górecki accepted the commission in 1976, the government did not become aware of it until two years later, after Wojtyła was elected pope. At that point, the administration interpreted the commission as having political insinuations and began to harass the composer. Beginning in 1978, while rector of Katowice's Higher School of Music, Górecki's calls and correspondence were

monitored and he was unable to appoint talented younger composers Aleksander Lason, Eugeniusz Knapik, and Andrzej Krzanowski to the staff. In 1979, he was even airbrushed out of a school photo. These incidents were not publicized in the West at that time. The premiere of *Beatus Vir*, the commissioned work, was heard in Kraków in June 1979 by Pope John Paul II, as Wojtyła was then known. Soon after that, Górecki resigned from both the rectorship and his teaching position at the school.⁴⁷ Dobrowolski and Górecki were less well known abroad than Penderecki in the 1970s, which may have contributed to the harsher governmental reactions they encountered.

For its part, the government wished to maintain the international prestige and economic boost of the annual Warsaw Autumn Festivals and contemporary composition in general. To do this, Polish music had to remain as much as possible at the forefront of the international compositional scene. Negative publicity concerning Polish composers would have been detrimental to this effort.⁴⁸ Compositions by union members were rarely banned, with the exception of those by Kisielewski, Mycielski, Panufnik, and Palester. For the most part, the creative output of Polish composers in the 1970s was apolitical, even if stylistically progressive, and could be presented to the West without harming the reputation desired by the government. The nonverbal nature of many of these compositions helped provide composers with a certain degree of protection from governmental harassment. As Kisielewski remarked in 1977, "Literature, history, philosophy, everything lies completely ravaged by the censor, while here, 'instead,' music thrives as if nothing has happened. Here, there is no substance, therefore it is harmless."⁴⁹

The small size of the Composers Union compared to other creative associations also contributed to the relatively gentle treatment given its members. In the 1970s, the Composers Union had about 300 members, whereas the Writers Union had between 1,100 and 1,300 individuals, the Actors Union nearly 4,000, and the Artists Union between 8,000 and 9,500.⁵⁰ These larger associations and their written, verbal, or visual output were of more concern to the government than the activities of a small group of composers and music scholars.

Toward the Clandestine: Unofficial Activities in the 1970s

Notwithstanding the sense of relative safety and at least the possibility of international fame that existed in the 1970s, composers and musicologists were seldom, if ever, satisfied with the quality of musical life in their country. But wary of repercussions and preferring to maintain the

freedoms they enjoyed, they were rarely involved in activities that were not sanctioned by governmental institutions, a phenomenon that differed markedly from the clandestine efforts of writers and artists. In other words, prior to the legalization of Solidarity, neither the Composers Union nor many of its more tenured members developed an equivalent to literature's *drugi obieg* (second circulation) or the popular clandestine Uniwersytet Latający (Flying University) courses then being offered in private homes, which had prompted confiscations, beatings, and other repercussions from the government.⁵¹ Initially, many of the participants in the few musical events that were part of the unofficial or, as we shall see, "semi-official" cultural scene in the 1970s were students or other members of the younger generation, who for the most part were not yet members of the Composers Union. It was these musicians who became the driving force in the expansion of Polish contemporary composition into this arena, breaking the heretofore almost monolithic character of the Composers Union and other artistic institutions.

The Catholic Church offered multiple opportunities for musicians, all of which were outside the reach of state censors. Its popular Sacrosong festivals included several works by Aleksander Lasoń, a composition student at Katowice, in the mid-1970s. According to Kubik, the word *Sacrosong* was never mentioned in state media, thanks to the efforts of the censors, yet thousands of people, primarily students, attended the festival each year. The Church's Weeks of Christian Culture, which began in 1975, offered concerts, poetry readings, and art exhibitions in various towns. Both amateur and professional musicians participated in these events, including Kisielewski, Górecki, Tomaszewski, Kaczyński, and on at least one occasion, Lutosławski, although these men may not have been involved until the 1980s.⁵² The government did not prevent these church performances from occurring, but it did not fully condone them, either. In a January 1986 press clipping posted at the U.S. embassy in Warsaw, the Polish government referred to the November 1985 Week of Christian Culture held in that city as a subversive, Solidarity-inspired event. The event was also described as being "semi-underground," since its events were publicized by placing flyers in public areas such as university campuses, implying that they differed from both the more clandestine endeavors of the *drugi obieg* and the cultural life organized by government-sanctioned institutions.⁵³ Although conceived in part as a means of evangelism, these events were also part of the Church's desire to promote the arts in Christianity and to offer an alternative to the state-controlled artistic arena.⁵⁴

Other concerts in the 1970s should be described as "semi-official," since some level of government support was apparent in each case,

accompanied by elements of independence that were outside the norm for musical life. These concerts, presented in the secular arena, were intended to offer additional opportunities for young composers and performers rather than act as expressions of political opposition. In 1976, a performance of works by Elżbieta Sikora, Norbert Kuźnik, Szabolcs Esztenyi, Krzysztof Knittel, and Wojciech Michniewski was described in *Ruch muzyczny* as a “novelty,” in that it had been arranged by the composers themselves. Held at the Warsaw Music Society’s building, it was the first of a planned series of concerts featuring young composers.⁵⁵ Knittel has said that he frequently invited students from Warsaw’s Higher School of Music to perform at that city’s Stodola club, where he had been the music director of a cabaret since 1968. He also presented his own songs and composed the music for at least two shows given at the club. After becoming a composition student at the Higher School in 1971, he co-founded, with Sikora and Michniewski, the improvisatory KEW group, which performed in both official and unofficial venues, including private concerts, the Warsaw Autumn Festival, and in Western Europe. Knittel was accepted as a Composers Union candidate in 1979 and Sikora was admitted a year earlier.⁵⁶

Although Knittel and others may have participated in Poland’s club scene simply because it was part of typical student life, one young music theorist, Krzysztof Droba, went a step further by organizing a festival called *Młodzi Muzycy Młodemu Miastu* (Young Musicians for a Young City) in Stalowa Wola, a small industrial town situated in south-east Poland. As Droba has related, the director of the town’s Wydział Kultury (Department of Culture), who was the sister of one of his students at Kraków’s Higher School of Music, approached him with a request to create a festival. The town provided a modest budget and gave Droba complete freedom with regard to programming. Concerts took place in either the local music school or the Dom Kultury (Cultural House). The events were aimed primarily at young composers and performers, but were open to all. The organizers also focused on educating local workers and students on topics related to contemporary music. From 1975 to 1979, works by young composers Lasoń, Knapik, and Krzanowski were premiered alongside compositions by Charles Ives (chosen as the Festival’s “spiritual patron” in part for his “artistic freedom”), composers from behind the Iron Curtain, and others. The festival was highly regarded by the Polish music community for its quality of music and its enthusiastic atmosphere.⁵⁷ The emergence of Lasoń, Knapik, and Krzanowski as the leaders of a trend in Polish music toward simplicity and lyricism was only one of its memorable aspects. A hands-on workshop on electronic music, the aforementioned classes on

new music, and discussions on the interpretation of art led by philosopher Władysław Stróżewski were also highly appreciated by both local citizens and the music community. Among the festival's most unusual features was its almost complete lack of external control in the form of censors or other pressures from the government. Even Droba has admitted to being surprised that such an "independent" event could be held for so many years in an era when "everything was controlled by the Party."⁵⁸ As Droba has recounted, he and Tomaszewski were called before the regional Party committee only once to explain their activities regarding the festival, although no repercussions were forthcoming. Droba left the festival after 1979, when the authorities began to control which performers could be invited. Tomaszewski and Górecki were just two of the current and future Composers Union members who attended. Kaczyński and fellow musicologists Bohdan Pociąg, Leszek Polony, Andrzej Chłopecki, and Olgierd Pisarenko reviewed the events for *Ruch muzyczny* and other publications. Droba did not become a Composers Union member until 1988, although he had been a faculty member in Kraków since 1972. Chłopecki, Polony, and Pisarenko were not accepted into the union until the early 1980s.⁵⁹

The initial success of this "semi-official" festival, for it received public funding but was not subjected to censors,⁶⁰ prompted Tomaszewski, the director of PWM, to begin organizing annual symposium-festivals in the village of Baranów in south-central Poland. These *Spotkania Muzyczne w Baranowie* (Musical Meetings in Baranów), which focused on the confrontation of music and other cultural fields, were attended by an international array of artists, philosophers, historians, and musicians. Among the fifty participants at the first Baranów Meeting in 1976 were representatives of the Polish musical elite, including composers Lutosławski, Penderecki, Górecki, Baird, Stachowski, and Krzysztof Meyer and musicologists Stęszewski, Patkowski, Droba, Pociąg, Michał Bristiger, Stefan Jarociński, Zofia Helman, and Krystyna Tarnawska-Kaczorowska. The meetings, which occurred annually until 1981, were similar to the Stalowa Wola festivals in their avoidance of censors while being supported by regional authorities, in this case, the Department of Culture and Art in Tarnobrzeg, the Higher School of Music in Kraków, and even a coal mine in Machów. PWM was able to publish proceedings from the 1976 and 1977 events. Tomaszewski has recalled only one incident of harassment by authorities, when the secret police attempted to prevent Bristiger from giving his opening talk in 1976, claiming that the musicologist had maintained contacts with KOR, the clandestine Workers Defense Committee that served as a precursor to the Solidarity union. In the end, Bristiger delivered his speech.⁶¹ This nearly total lack

of harassment of the Baranów Meetings and the Stalowa Wola festivals by state authorities demonstrated their willingness to tolerate the contemporary music scene, which was characterized in part by its ostensibly complacent participants and the location of some of its most important activities in less populated areas instead of major cultural centers. As Dorota Szwarzman has suggested, however, these same events gave the Polish musical community an opportunity to become more closely integrated, which in turn engendered an exchange of ideas and ideologies that proved beneficial after 1980.⁶² The combination of representatives from the musical, literary, and artistic communities portended the close-knit interactions of their respective unions in the early 1980s. Also noteworthy is the fact that composers and musicologists of all generations went to Baranów, foreshadowing the variety of musicians who took part in the unofficial circles of the 1980s. The presence of Stęszewski, the Composers Union president, Jarociński, the chair of the union's Musicology Section, and other members of the executive board (Patkowski, Lutosławski, Górecki, and Meyer) put an imprimatur upon the Baranów gatherings in the interest of cultural freedom. At the same time, their participation reflected a willingness of both composers and musicologists to cross the boundary between official and unofficial, however tentatively the latter label might be used for these events. As the underground movement in other cultural areas strengthened in the late 1970s, so did the resolve of individual musicians to act upon their personal opinions about the government's policies. Although the impact on society of these few activities may have been minimal, their importance for the future policies of the Composers Union cannot be discounted.

The Composers Union Changes Direction

In February 1979, Patkowski, a musicologist and founder of Polish Radio's Experimental Music Studio, became president of the Composers Union. New board members included composers Marek Stachowski and Edward Pałłasz and composer-conductor Henryk Czyż, who were to serve alongside composers Lutosławski, Meyer, Słowiński, Wojciech Kilar, Romuald Twardowski, and Augustyn Bloch, and musicologist Andrzej Chodkowski. With these changes in leadership, the union's carefully charted path of intentional neutrality with regard to the country's political future could and would be changed.

The union's basic goals did not waver from what they had been in the 1970s: to improve the ability of its members to have their works heard and published in Poland and abroad, enable them to travel

internationally, and care for their professional and, in some cases, personal needs. However, after the Solidarity union was legitimized by the government in August 1980, the Composers Union's actions also encompassed more pointed messages of opposition, which were intended to support activities beyond its normal purview. One of the first manifestations of this was the resolution cited at the beginning of this essay.

Poland's evolving social conditions undoubtedly contributed to the union's decision to deviate from its normal course. As rapidly deteriorating economic conditions, accompanied by strikes in various parts of the country, created even more difficult living conditions, the path forged by the Composers Union was one in which its private face of discontent became its public one as well.⁶³ The union's leadership was strengthened by a conviction that it should support not only composers and musicologists but also other artists. Although it was criticized by some of its own members for waiting until after the Gdańsk Agreement was in place to show such encouragement, within a year of its signing, the union's leadership issued at least two other proclamations, one applauding the government's approval of Solidarity's registration application and another endorsing an open letter issued by Polish intellectuals that condemned the increasing anti-Semitism in the country. In its November 1980 statement announcing its approval of Solidarity's registration, the Union also decried the country's poor cultural policies, which it claimed had been flawed since before 1968.⁶⁴ At the General Assembly held in January 1981, Kaczyński agreed that this November resolution should have been approved several months earlier, but asserted that "the atmosphere had never been what it is now, when it is possible to speak one's mind freely."⁶⁵ Indeed, knowing that the government was its patron, the Union had been unwilling to support the labor union while it was still an opposition movement.

With the government's recognition of Solidarity, however, the Composers Union began to endorse the union's goals and press for the realization of its own unfulfilled desires. During the 1981 general assembly, a collection was taken to support the work of the Coordinating Committee of Creative and Scientific Associations, a group sponsored by Solidarity that focused initially on issues of censorship and creative freedom. The Composers Union was one of the Committee's founding organizations. Among the resolutions passed at that time was one calling for the executive board to undertake discussions with Solidarity about how the two groups could work cooperatively. Others requested the admission to the union of past members who lived abroad due to nonartistic reasons, a reference to Palester and Panufnik. Still others repeated concerns from prior years, for example, the creation of a second music

magazine and an additional music publisher, purchase of a photocopier, and improved relations with Polish Radio and TV.⁶⁶

There seemed to be no limit to the activities that composers and musicologists could now pursue openly. With the consent of the Composers Union, Pałłasz and Chodkowski attended Solidarity's national congress in Gdańsk in 1981, and Patkowski, Pałłasz, Chodkowski, and Słowiński (a Party member, we should remember) conferred frequently with the Coordinating Committee of Creative and Scientific Associations.⁶⁷ These same men, along with the remaining members of the union's executive board, also continued to meet frequently with officials at the Ministry of Culture and Art, the Central Committee's Cultural Department, and even with prime minister Wojciech Jaruzelski. Other union members worked independently with regional Solidarity groups.⁶⁸

Lutosławski was one of the organizers of the Polish Cultural Congress, which was interrupted by the onset of martial law in December 1981. Sponsored by the Coordinating Committee, the Congress was billed as the first independent event of its type in post-World War II Poland.⁶⁹ For one of the concerts held during the event, the Composers Union's presidium suggested works by Palester, Kisielewski, Panufnik, and Mycielski, none of whom were favored by the government.⁷⁰ Other concerts organized in 1980 and 1981 to support Solidarity or celebrate patriotic holidays featured works by a mix of composers of all generations and levels of fame, including Lutosławski, Penderecki, Górecki, Kilar, Baird, Serocki, Panufnik, Artur Malawski, Zbigniew Bujarski, Lidia Zielińska, Juliusz Łuciuk, and Bolesław Szabelski. The 25th Warsaw Autumn Festival in September 1981 was reviewed in such newly established, uncensored newspapers as *Trybuna Robotnicza* (Workers Tribune), *Kurier Polski* (Polish Courier), and *Trybuna Mazowiecka* (Mazowiecka Tribune).⁷¹

Optimism reigned at executive board meetings. In December 1980, Lutosławski spoke of how difficult it had been in the past to accomplish the union's goals, when the Ministry of Culture and Art had its own ideas about what should be done. In his opinion, a group such as the Coordinating Committee could not have existed previously in postwar Poland. In April 1981, at a board meeting held in Poznań to which all area members had been invited, composer Benedykt Konowski expressed his enthusiasm for the range of activities presented by Patkowski.⁷² This confidence continued throughout 1981 and even into the months of repression that were to follow.

Martial Law: The Union in Opposition

With the imposition of martial law on 13 December 1981, troops were sent into the streets and the civil rights of all Polish citizens were curtailed. Meetings and cultural events were forbidden, newspapers were shut down, and universities were closed. On 18 December, the Composers Union was ordered to cease operations. Members of the intelligentsia and artistic circles were imprisoned, including more than two hundred from the Writers Union, but just one from the Composers Union. The Composers Union began to function secretly, as did Poland's other creative unions.⁷³ Although its headquarters reopened on 28 December 1981, a functionary from the Ministry of Culture and Art was appointed to oversee its activities, which were limited, for the most part, to distributing ration cards and assembling a list for the Ministry of Culture and Art of members needing financial assistance.⁷⁴ A Union committee charged with providing material help to members distributed care packages filled with goods received from local churches and from individuals who brought supplies back from foreign trips. In 1982, more than eighty bundles of food and clothing were provided to union members by this committee.⁷⁵

The Ministry of Culture and Art suggested at least three times in early 1982 that the Composers Union could be fully activated if a ministry member became part of its presidium.⁷⁶ These proposals were rejected. The presidium felt that agreeing to the ministry's wishes might threaten the union's ability to carry out its full range of normal activities. As Chodkowski and Patkowski later recalled, the union did not want to present any sense of normality to either Poland or the outside world. Despite these repudiations, the ministry fully reactivated the Composers Union at the end of March, with no requirement that ministry representatives be present.

The government had blinked, in the opinion of many union members. The motive for this was clear. As Chodkowski indicated at the April executive board meeting, the ministry wanted the 1982 Warsaw Autumn Festival to occur as a signal to the world that routine conditions prevailed, even though martial law was still in effect, people were still imprisoned as a result of the political crackdown, and other creative unions were still suspended. As he explained more recently, organizing the Warsaw Festival in 1982 would have given the government "significant propaganda value internationally."⁷⁷ The economic benefits of allowing Polish music to be presented in an international forum would not have been underestimated by the authorities, either. In April, the union's executive board accepted the Warsaw Festival

Program Committee's decision to cancel the event for that year, citing as its official reason the existence of multiple organizational impediments caused by martial law. From the minutes of these executive board meetings, it is also clear that the union considered the moral aspects of resuming the festival as well. As Patkowski later said, the prevailing opinion was that composers "could not have a ball in a cemetery."⁷⁸

The government's propaganda goals clearly favored composers and musicologists over other artists during this time, for the Composers Union and its members did not suffer the same indignities as its sister associations. Even more stringent conditions for reactivation had been imposed on other creative unions. According to Jan Józef Szczepański, the Writers Union was told that to resume a full range of activities, it must take responsibility for all protests and public activities undertaken by its members, have all meetings and decisions approved by the government, and allow a government representative to act as an advisor. The presidium of that union refused to accept these stipulations. Similar conditions were presented to the Artists Union and Photographers Union.⁷⁹ The Filmmakers Association remained suspended until June 1983 and the Journalists Union was disbanded in March 1982. The Actors Association was liquidated in December of that year following months of boycotts of Polish Radio and TV productions. The Artists Union was banned in 1983 after it continued to issue antigovernmental resolutions. The Writers Union was disbanded the same year and a new, more pro-government organization using the same name was created in its place. The same reuse of names also occurred with the Actors Association. In reality, the banned versions of these organizations continued to operate illegally throughout the 1980s. Journalists and employees of Polish Radio and TV had to offer oaths of loyalty to the regime in order to continue working. Composers Union members were not asked to do the same (except those employed by Polish Radio), nor did they feel compelled to leave their union as a sign of protest against its policies, as occurred with members of the Journalists Union.⁸⁰

By mid-1982, the Composers Union had discovered that its corporate voice of discontent could be heard without harming the integrity of the association or the livelihood of its members. For the first time in the union's postwar history, its public persona became one of open opposition to the regime. In April 1982, the executive board approved one resolution that expressed alarm at the loss to national culture caused by the continued suspension of other creative and academic unions and another that called for creating a new program of activities that took the ongoing crisis into account. Several members acknowledged that the government would probably be displeased with the latter resolution.

However, as Mirosław Perz, then the head of the union's Musicology Section, stated, "the Composers Union, like the other creative unions, has tremendous moral authority. As Chodkowski quite appropriately emphasized, this is a moment when we must be, *ex officio*, a guardian of moral authority in society." These resolutions were sent to the other creative unions as well as to the Minister and Vice Minister of Culture and Art. The unions responded by expressing their support for the motions.⁸¹

At the same executive board meeting, participants had debated how the union should interact with the government and what activities it should undertake. Pałłasz, for example, questioned whether the union should accept any money from the government.⁸² Patkowski stated that he could "not imagine . . . continuing the Union's . . . cooperation with the authorities in all musical matters, as was the practice for many years, when we participated in deliberations [and] we expressed our opinions, but had no influence on the outcome. . . . There can be no common activities between the Union and the administration."⁸³ Nevertheless, as the minutes of presidium meetings indicate, meetings and other forms of interaction with governmental officials continued to occur almost unabated. Meyer, Pałłasz, and Chodkowski each noted at the June 1982 executive board meeting that the union needed to continue dealing with the regime's institutions, specifically citing Polish Radio and TV and the Ministry of Culture and Art as examples. In their opinions, the union had to strike a balance between moral issues, which, if taken under full consideration, might lead to a lack of cooperation with these organizations, and the necessity for its members to earn a living, which was accomplished at least in part through commissions and royalties from these same institutions.⁸⁴ Notwithstanding the personal opinions of Patkowski and others, the union leadership's presumption of moral authority in Poland's cultural life under martial law did not negate its feeling of obligation to its own members. This balancing of moral and financial issues helps explain why the presidium, acting on behalf of the union, decided not to have the association participate officially in a composers' competition sponsored by the Polish military, but noted that individual members could enter if they wished.⁸⁵

The presidium also understood that some members would refuse to work with Polish Radio and TV, while others would feel that the union must continue cooperating with representatives of that institution, despite the increasingly poor relationship between the two groups. Complaints about the low percentage of airtime devoted to Polish music, the inadequate number of new recordings of works by union members (which were monophonic rather than stereo, as was then the

standard in the West), the elimination of the department devoted to contemporary music, and the overall lack of response to the union's concerns by the hierarchy of Polish Radio and TV provided sufficient reason for several union members to describe the current situation as catastrophic.⁸⁶ The termination of several union musicologists from their positions with Polish Radio and TV was thought to be politically motivated. The official explanation given to the Composers Union for these dismissals was that these individuals—Mieczysław Kominek, Ewa Obniska, Andrzej Chłopecki, Małgorzata Gąsiorowska, and Grzegorz Michalski—were not qualified to work at Polish Radio, even though they had been employed there for several years.⁸⁷ The real reason was quite different, as alluded to by a resolution passed by the union: "The motive for the firings had nothing to do with the meritorious value of their work."⁸⁸ Kominek, also trained as a sound engineer, has said that he was the chair of the Solidarity group in Polish Radio and TV's Chief Music Editorial Office (a fact not mentioned in archival materials at the Composers Union) and was released from his position at a "military institution" because he did not pass the verification process required of all Radio and TV employees during martial law. He claimed that his dismissal had been planned in advance of his verification meeting. Chłopecki had been a member of the Polish Journalists Union but either resigned or was forced out in 1981. Both he and Kominek were subsequently hired by Tomaszewski to work at PWM.⁸⁹

The Composers Union also showed its displeasure with the current state of affairs through the programming of the Warsaw Autumn Festival.⁹⁰ The festival's 1983 schedule featured Boulez's *Rituel in memoriam Maderna*, Denisov's *Requiem*, Zimmermann's *Sinfonie come un grande lamento*, Nordheim's *Clamavi* for cello, Sielecki's *Agnus Dei*, and Panufnik's *Song to the Virgin Mary*, among other works of reflection and mourning. As Patkowski later noted, "A broad range of works emerged in the program—perhaps even not entirely intentionally—whose interpretations reflected additional symbolism appropriate for the reality of that time."⁹¹ In 1984, patriotic and religious themes were frequently discernible. Excerpts from the Polish hymns "Bogurodzica" (Mother of God) and "Boże, coś Polskę" (God Save Poland) were heard in Meyer's *Polish Symphony*; "Święty Boże" (Holy God) appeared in both Penderecki's *Polish Requiem* and Augustyn Bloch's *Supplications* for cello and piano, and a quotation from Chopin's Mazurka no. 2, op. 6, was embedded in Bronisław Przybylski's *A Varsovie* for orchestra.⁹² With programs that favored a mood of remembrance over one of celebration, these two festivals provided composers with an opportunity to present

their music to an international audience, thus advancing their own careers, but failed to give the government its desired propaganda boost.

Choosing a Path: 1983 as a Turning Point

The Composers Union's decisions to protest the restrictions of martial law in Polish society and to speak out in support of the suspended creative unions were made only after consulting with as many members as possible. Although the executive board unanimously accepted these resolutions, other members had expressed different opinions. As early as June 1982, voices of caution had been heard. Włodzimierz Kamiński, a musicologist at Poznań's Museum of Musical Instruments who was also a Party member, contended at an executive board meeting that the union had not been created to "stir up" politics but to aid in the development of cultural life. He and others, including Meyer and Adam Walaciński, agreed that the union should adhere to the limitations of its statutes, which did not permit "complete freedom of activities."⁹³

This undercurrent of prudence reasserted itself in December 1982. The presidium had prepared a short statement directed to prime minister Jaruzelski in which it expressed its opposition to the government's de-legalization of Solidarity, which had occurred that month.⁹⁴ However, after hearing a variety of opinions from the Composers Union's membership about the wisdom of sending this missive, the presidium decided against doing so. As Patkowski stated, it was "neither the time nor place to verbalize the matters that are the most important to us." By way of explanation, he recounted a mid-December meeting at the office of Czesław Kiszczak, Minister of Internal Affairs, that he had attended with Klemens Szaniawski, a Warsaw University professor who had been the chair of the Coordinating Committee of Creative and Scientific Associations; Szczepański, president of the Polish Writers Union; and Janusz Eysymont, vice president of the Artists Union. Together, these cultural leaders had pursued "a mission of mediation" subsequent to the dissolution of the Actors Union. Patkowski felt that following this conciliatory effort by sending a letter of protest, even if on a somewhat different topic, would dispel any aura of goodwill that might exist within the administration.⁹⁵

On 31 December 1982, martial law was suspended. The Solidarity union continued to operate illegally. Churches and society looked forward to the visit of Pope John Paul II scheduled for June 1983. Amid this period of restlessness, the Composers Union held its first general assembly since before martial law. In March 1983, the union's full membership chose to continue voicing its opposition to the regime's current

policies, setting aside the cautionary tone that had been heard from the presidium just a few months earlier. Participants approved resolutions (unanimously, in most cases) denouncing the ongoing suspension of the Writers and Filmmakers Unions and the dissolution of the Polish Actors Association, requiring the executive board to use all available means and the authority of the union to be involved with the "great events occurring in the country," calling for amnesty for those still imprisoned as a result of martial law, promising to continue its efforts to promote full democracy in Poland, and taking exception to the firing of five of its members from Polish Radio and TV.⁹⁶ Afterward, Szczepański noted that differences in the government's treatment of musical and literary circles clearly existed, since the Composers Union's newly elected executive board included people disliked by the government (Kisielewski), while the equivalent group in the Writers Union was still not allowed to hold official meetings. In Szczepański's opinion, the international prestige held by Polish composers and its resulting hard currency influx contributed to this favoritism.⁹⁷

The spring and summer of 1983 proved to be a critical period for the Composers Union as it debated its continued participation in the country's political life. The general assembly's resolutions from March had been taken, anonymously, to a meeting of the Warsaw Section of the Polish Artists Union, which had adopted them as their own motions. On 1 April, the presidents of other creative unions, both functioning and suspended, met with the Composers Union's leadership to review the assembly's decisions. In May, no longer in a conciliatory mood, Patkowski co-signed a letter to prime minister Jaruzelski that expressed dismay with the administration's actions concerning creative unions. This letter, signed by the presidents of the still functioning Architects Union, Photographers Union, Art Critics Association, and the Union of Polish Authors and Composers (ZAKR, or *Związek Polskich Autorów i Kompozytorów*), was critical of the dissolution or ongoing suspensions of the Journalists Union, Filmmakers Association, Writers Union, Actors Union, and the Polish Section of the PEN Club, as well as the ongoing threats to the existence of the Artists Union. Its authors were not subtle. After stating that the government's termination of creative unions' activities not only threatened the progress of Polish culture but was not in accord with the citizens' rights guaranteed by the country's own constitution, they requested that the propaganda campaign against creative unions be stopped.⁹⁸

The regime was not pleased. In May, Patkowski and Słowiński were summoned to a meeting with the Minister of Culture and Art, Kazimierz Żygulski, and the secretary of the Central Committee,

Waldemar Świrgoń. The two men were asked why the Composers Union had criticized the government, since, as Żygulski stated, "No one is ordered to write folk music," an allusion to the restrictions of Socialist Realism in the 1950s. Świrgoń accused them of cooperating "with diversionary centers." Patkowski and Słowiński were told that any activities undertaken by the Composers Union that were not permitted by its statutes would be met with sharp resistance.⁹⁹

While the Composers Union pondered its reaction to this demand, the government officially ended martial law in July 1983, but passed a law giving itself the right to dissolve the legally elected executive boards of unions.¹⁰⁰ The Artists Union was dissolved in July, and the Writers Union and executive board of the PEN Club's Polish Section were disbanded in August. In September, the Composers Union's executive board approved a resolution to be sent to members only, which stated in part that "we express deep regret and pain due to the dissolution of our fellow creative unions. . . . However, we will not say anything to the government about this, since at the moment, this type of activity seems to be ineffective." The board announced its intention to concentrate on "defending the existence and self-rule of the Polish Composers Union," as well as tending to the professional needs of its members and assuring the continued presence of contemporary Polish music abroad and at home.¹⁰¹ In other words, the union would limit its activities to those defined in its statutes. This is, in fact, what happened. The Composers Union returned to a pattern of behavior similar to what had been observed in the 1970s, which aimed to avoid provoking the government in return for autonomy and the ability of its members to practice their professions. At the 1985 general assembly, Patkowski, finishing his third and final term of office as president, described the fulfillment of these same goals as having been the union's primary emphasis of the previous two years.¹⁰²

Had the Composers Union blinked when it chose to preserve its institution rather than face the risks of continued open opposition? The executive board's decision to abandon its public support of creative unions and full democracy might seem timid compared to the boldness the leaders of the artists, actors, and writers associations had exhibited in continuing to confront the government, even when threatened with dissolution. The board's precise reasons for making this decision are not clear, although Patkowski did allude to the many offers of help that had been received, including "thousands of shillings worth of goods." He also emphasized the union's responsibility to care for the needs of its members.¹⁰³ To do this, retaining the patronage of the state was considered necessary, despite the union's acknowledged antipathy toward its

underwriter. The group of composers and musicologists who participated in “exhaustive discussions” (not included in extant minutes of the board’s meetings) about what in essence was the future identity of the union included some of its most prominent opponents of governmental policies: Patkowski, Perz, Lutosławski, Kaczyński, Tomaszewski, Pałłasz, Meyer, Chodkowski, Bloch, Słowiński, and Zbigniew Rudziński.¹⁰⁴

These men (a mix of composers and musicologists, most of whom had been at the Baranów artistic gatherings) must have recognized that the Party would remain in power for the foreseeable future. The union had nothing to gain by angering its governmental benefactors, but stood to lose the freedoms it had acquired since the end of Socialist Realism. To continue down a path of open opposition would bring the possibility of the union’s suspension, dissolution, or re-creation into an organization led by people less wary of the government. This might, in turn, engender isolation from international contacts and a possible degradation of the quality of the Warsaw Autumn Festival, which for all countries behind the Iron Curtain still served as a gateway for information on contemporary music. Such a situation was not desired by anyone in the Composers Union.

Many union members have agreed that its leadership made the correct decision in September 1983. For them, the most important outcome was that the Composers Union not only still existed, but that it also remained autonomous, a position that had never been experienced by some of Poland’s other, now defunct creative unions. At the 1985 general assembly, outgoing president Patkowski and his colleagues on the executive board were praised by Stęszewski, the union’s previous president, for their “high ethical level . . . and wisdom” in times in which “it is difficult to know what the truth is and how to proceed.”

Kisielewski, in a statement now well known in Poland, asserted that the executive board had led the union during a difficult time “through the Red Sea with dry feet,” a phrase filled with multiple religious and political references that resonated in this Catholic country. He offered special praise to Patkowski, “an independent, noble man,” and Słowiński, “hard-working . . . and also a Party member . . . [who] worked together harmoniously.”¹⁰⁵ The union had preserved the ability of its members to pursue their professions, which was its statutory mandate. Participation in the political opposition was now left to individuals.

Business as Usual

After martial law restrictions were lifted in July 1983, the government was determined to operate much as it had in previous decades. The

Ministry of Culture and Art remained the primary patron of the arts. Internally, however, the agency admitted that the restrictions put in place during martial law had prompted many musicians and other artists to leave the country. It also recognized the need to increase stipends and paper supplies and to improve access to musical instruments, scores, films, and books.¹⁰⁶ In other words, ministry officials knew that musicians lacked many of the materials needed to succeed in their chosen professions. Unfortunately, improvements in this area did not come to fruition during the 1980s. In fact, the same problems with the recording and publishing institutions that had plagued the Composers Union prior to the emergence of the Solidarity union still existed. During this author's stay in Poland for the 1985–86 academic year, commercial recordings of classical music were almost nonexistent, and compact discs were not available at all. (The first Polish CD was not manufactured until 1988; vinyl recordings and compact discs produced by Western companies were not sold in Poland.) A Warsaw University faculty member suggested that I buy recordings whenever they became available, since the few that would appear would be in high demand by consumers. Scores of contemporary Polish music were also in limited supply. Books and scores published in the West—even those written by Polish citizens—never appeared on the shelves, although those by approved Soviet composers were for sale.¹⁰⁷ Obtaining Western publications abroad was largely impossible for Polish consumers because they lacked suitable amounts of hard currency. Polish musicians who were able to travel internationally brought back both hard currency and consumer goods, including not only scores, recordings, and paper, but also coffee and sugar.

Indeed, a significant part of daily life at that time and throughout the 1970s and 1980s consisted of standing in lines to buy the limited variety of groceries and other commodities available at shops and outdoor stands (few full-service grocery stores existed even in the capital city). Beginning in 1976, sugar was rationed, with meat, butter, flour, rice, chocolate, cigarettes, and gasoline added in 1981. In September 1985, ration cards were still needed for meat, sugar, and gasoline.¹⁰⁸ A thriving black market economy mitigated some of these shortages, at least for those fortunate enough to have contacts with Westerners. Making an international call required contacting an operator to request the call, then waiting hours for a return call with the news that the connection was being made. Manual typewriters had to be used at a time when home computers were available in Western countries.¹⁰⁹ Photocopies could be made only at shops dedicated to that purpose. It helped to have friends and acquaintances who could either hold items

aside for you or, if they were clerks in a business you frequented, might show favoritism in other ways, as my friend at one of the few photocopy stores in Warsaw did by not questioning the type or amount of information I wished to have reproduced.

The Unofficial Arena as a Substitute

The literary and artistic underground continued to thrive during the mid-1980s. According to Paczkowski, from 1982 to 1985, 1,700 different titles were published clandestinely, in addition to numerous pamphlets. Some writers refused to work for official media, while others were prohibited from doing so, having found their names on a list of proscribed authors.¹¹⁰ Although the executive board of the Composers Union had decided in 1983 that it should limit its activities to those defined by its government-approved statutes, it never intended to ask members to avoid participating in nonunion-sanctioned concerts or other unofficial events. As early as June 1982, Andrzej Chodkowski, one of the union's vice presidents, had seemed to encourage such affiliations when he suggested that members who did not agree with the union's decisions could undertake their own activities. Although Chodkowski was referring to the fact that the union would not stand in the way of those who either avoided contacts with Polish Radio and TV or chose to cooperate with that institution, the implications of this statement were far-reaching.¹¹¹ Composers and musicologists had never depended on having the union's blessing before embarking on any given path, nor were they required to conform to the organization's official stance. What was compelling about the 1980s, however, was the increase in the number of members who chose to express their opposition to the government as well as the diversity of their responses, including ventures into more clandestine opportunities. No longer merely searching for additional performance opportunities, as important as those may have been, musicians from all generations now reacted to the feelings of outrage and exasperation that pervaded Polish society. As with the Baranów meetings, even executive board members responded, thus satisfying their own personal desires to voice their dissatisfaction with the regime.

Perhaps the first significant public expression of opposition occurred in January 1982, when Krzysztof Meyer, Zofia Helman, and Teresa Chylińska withdrew from the organizing committee for an international Szymanowski festival-symposium specifically in order to signal their opposition to martial law.¹¹² Another statement of resistance came in August 1983, when sixty-eight musicians, composers, and musicologists signed an open letter addressed to the presidents of the Writers

and Artists Unions in which they declared that "the destruction of authentic social structures, such as your unions, does not, however, destroy the very essence of Polish culture."¹¹³

Composers reacted through their music as well as their actions. Meyer, an executive board member, has said that his *Polish Symphony*, performed at the 1984 Warsaw Autumn Festival, was written in response to martial law.¹¹⁴ According to the composer's program note for that concert, "The *Polish Symphony* is a program work . . . about contemporaneity, the present, the problems preying on our minds. The *Symphony* is the composer's view on everything we have witnessed and experienced."¹¹⁵ Górecki, no longer on the faculty of the Katowice State Higher School of Music, composed *Miserere* in response to an incident in Bydgoszcz, Poland, in March 1981 in which Solidarity members were beaten by Polish militia. As Thomas has stated, no performance of that work was "possible or planned" until 1987 due to "heavy governmental restrictions" then in place. Moreover, during this time "Górecki refused to have anything to do with any activity or event which would, however obliquely, bring credit to the regime."¹¹⁶

Penderecki has stated that his *Polish Requiem*, first performed in 1983, was intended to send a musical message of solidarity with the country's political opposition. Individual movements of the *Requiem* were dedicated to events and people in recent Polish history, including the 1944 Warsaw Uprising and the 1940 Katyn massacre of Polish soldiers and civilians by the Soviets.¹¹⁷ (During the 1980s, the Soviet Union still blamed the Nazis for these murders, which could not be mentioned in Poland publicly. Penderecki's dedication was, therefore, prohibited from appearing in print.) Penderecki also declined to help organize an artists' group that was intended to support martial law. He persuaded the government to stop military indoctrination classes instituted at Kraków's Music Academy.¹¹⁸ Instead of appearing at a Warsaw concert held in celebration of his fiftieth birthday in 1983, where government officials waited to honor him, he went to New York and met with former U.S. national security advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski. He defended Tomaszewski, who resigned as the director of PWM in 1988 in order to avoid having to lay off half of the company's employees after the government sharply reduced its paper allotment. (Tomaszewski had also allowed PWM to print leaflets and other items for Solidarity and resisted the authorities in other matters, including the hiring of Chłopecki.) Penderecki also found employment for Patkowski, who was fired from his position at Polish Radio's Experimental Music Studio shortly after he relinquished his post as Composers Union president in 1985. This termination has been interpreted as being retaliation for

Patkowski's guidance and support for the union's antigovernmental sentiments during his term in office as well as his characterization of Polish musical life as a "wasteland" during a November 1981 meeting with prime minister Jaruzelski.¹¹⁹

Lutosławski, outraged by the imposition of martial law, refused to appear in public until 1986, when the government granted amnesty to those still incarcerated as a result of martial law. Although he allowed his pieces to be performed on official concerts, he did not attend those events. Instead, he made occasional appearances at unofficial performances of his works. He refused to accept a state prize in 1982 and declined permission for *Ruch muzyczny* to publish celebratory discussions on the occasion of his seventieth birthday in 1983. He discreetly provided stipends to young composers for study abroad, worked with the Composers Union (although he turned down a request in 1983 to be its president), assisted with relief efforts at churches, and attended meetings with opposition activists.¹²⁰

Other composers and musicologists also opted to pursue both official activities and those that were part of the burgeoning underground cultural scene, in the process becoming more prominent players in the artistic equivalent of the *drugi obieg*. The most notable participant was Kaczyński, who had been on the Warsaw Autumn Festival's program committee from 1970 to 1981 and in 1981 had also belonged to Solidarity's Cultural Committee for the Mazowsze region.¹²¹ In 1983, during martial law, he initiated a series of performances consisting of songs and readings related to key events in Polish history, such as the January Uprising of 1863, the 1795 Kościuszko Insurrection, and the Third of May Constitution signed in 1791. The performers for these concerts, who were mostly unpaid, became known as the Traugutt Philharmonia. (Initially, a pianist provided the only accompaniment.) Most of these concerts took place in churches, since Kaczyński recognized that censors would have prevented them from occurring in official venues.¹²² A spirit of resistance to the government, combined with loyalty to the Polish nation, prevailed among their audiences, who frequently filled the available performing spaces. As Bilica later wrote, "In those sad and oppressive times, [these concerts] strengthened and fortified people's spirits."¹²³ In essence, the Traugutt Philharmonia became a "Flying University," as it succeeded in filling in some of the historical blanks of patriotic traditions for Polish society.

Programs and invitations from Philharmonia presentations, although somewhat aged, still provide compelling images of that era. Figure 1 shows the program cover for the Third of May concert held in 1986. This theme, which commemorated the 1791 adoption of Europe's

first constitution in written form, had also been the subject of a program sponsored in 1981 by the regional Solidarity union in Warsaw. This latter concert, held at the Royal Castle rather than a church, also featured music and readings. As such, it may have served as the model for Kaczyński's own endeavors two years later.¹²⁴ The familiar format of the Weeks of Christian Culture may also have inspired Kaczyński.

Figure 2 shows the inside of the Third of May program. Performers are listed on the upper left; Kaczyński's name is given as the scriptwriter (*scenariusz*). The paragraph at the lower left indicates that readings from the 1791 Constitution were to be interspersed with the pieces listed, with applause held until the end. Among the compositions listed on the right are an opening *Celebratory Polonaise* (*Polonez Uroczysty*) by Karol Kurpiński, a *Song of Thanksgiving for the Third of May Legislation* (*Pieśń*



Figure 1. Program cover for Third of May Constitution Concert, 4 May 1986. Author's private collection.

WYKONAWCY	PROGRAM
JERZY HIELI	WIELKI WIELKI Karola Kurpińskiego /1818/
ROBERT CIEŚLA	POJAM NIE SZUKA - słowa Jana Nepomucena Kamińskiego
DOROTA DOMAGALIŃSKA	ZADAJ MI TO SPRAWIŁA - muzyka Aleksandra Rogońskiego
ARONIEJ PERENC	/maj 1791/
STANISŁAW GÓRKA	PIEŚŃ NAJĘCZYNIA ZA USTAWĘ 3 MAJA 1791
KAZIMIEŻ GRUSZCZYŃSKI	HYMN NA ROCZNICĘ 3 MAJA - słowa Ignacego Krasickiego /1792/
ALEXANDRA JABŁONKA	PIEŚŃ WIELKIEJ - słowa Izabelli Czyrtyrskiej /1792/,
WIKTOR STRAŻAK	muzyka ks. Józefa Polite
BARBARA STRZELECKA	MAJ Z ROKU 1792
ANNA SZULC	WIOSNIECZA KOKLA z kamedii Wojciecha Bogusławskiego
BARBARA JABŁONKA	"Henryk VI na łowach" /1792/
	z muzyką Karola Kurpińskiego
	ANNA BARBARA z opery Wojciecha Bogusławskiego i Jana
	Stefaniego "Krakowiacy i Górale"
	/1794/
	ŚPIEW ANAHELEK - słowa Stanisława Starzyńskiego
	/początek XIX wieku/
	NA WIEŻACH WIELKICH - słowa Marii Konopnickiej
	/początek XX wieku/
	KONSTITUCJA - słowa Xenii Żytomirskiej /1938/, muzyka
	Krzysztofa Knittla /1985/
	POLONEZ "WIELKIE CZASY" z opery Stanisława Moniuszki
	"Mrabina" /1859/
	WIELKIE TRZECIE MAJA

scenariusz: TADEUSZ KACZYŃSKI
współpraca muzyczna: JERZY HIELI
plastyczna: ANNA JABŁONKA

Program koncertu, z którego wybraliśmy fragmenty Konstytucji 3 Maja, stanowi całość, której prosimy nie przerywać oklaskami.

Figure 2. Program for Third of May Constitution Concert, 4 May 1986. Author's private collection.

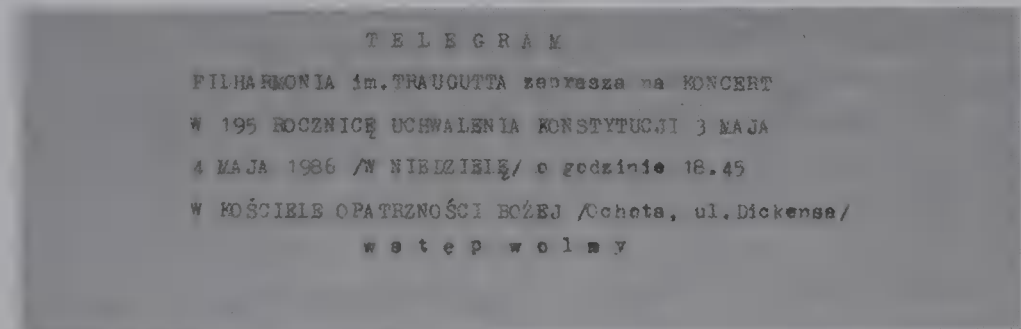


Figure 3. Invitation for Third of May Constitution Concert, 4 May 1986. Author's private collection.

Dziękczynna za Ustawę 3 Maja), and a *Hymn for the Third of May Anniversary* (Hymn na Rocznicę 3 Maja) written in 1792. The concert also included a piece by Knittel entitled *Constitution* (Konstytucja).¹²⁵

Traugutt Philharmonia presentations were held under more clandestine circumstances than had occurred with the Baranów or Stalowa Wola events in the 1970s. Invitations for the Philharmonia programs were transmitted either orally or via short, typed “telegrams” handed out personally. The original dimensions of the invitation shown in figure 3,

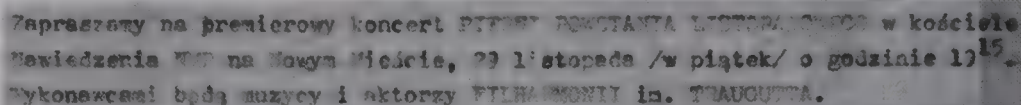


Figure 4. Invitation for Songs of November Uprising Concert, 29 November 1985. Author's private collection.

for the same Third of May program, are 8.25×2.5 inches. Its English translation:

Telegram.

The Traugutt Philharmonia invites you to a concert on the 195th anniversary of the passage of the Third of May Constitution, 4 May 1986 at 6:45 p.m. at the Church of Divine Providence, Dickens Street, Ochota. Entrance is free.

An invitation for a different concert, this one in November 1985, was printed on thinner, more fragile paper, as shown in figure 4.¹²⁶ It notes that the evening was to offer the first performance of a concert commemorating the 1830 November Uprising against the Russians, who at that time ruled an area that included Warsaw and surrounding environs. Translated, the invitation reads:

We invite you to the premiere performance of Songs of the November Uprising in the Church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in New Town, Friday, 29 November at 7:15 p.m. Performers will be musicians and actors of the Traugutt Philharmonia.

The Traugutt Philharmonia also performed on other occasions, including the memorial services held in Warsaw in October 1985 on the first anniversary of Father Jerzy Popiełuszko's murder by governmental security agents. The service on 19 October was attended by an estimated twenty thousand people, including this author. It was watched by police outside the churchyard, which was adorned with Solidarity banners, as shown in figure 5. Hymns, Polish folksongs, and Solidarity chants permeated the event, which lasted much of the day and well into the evening. The Traugutt ensemble performed the following day for a quieter but still large crowd.¹²⁷

The Philharmonia program commemorating the 1944 Warsaw Uprising included newly commissioned songs by Knittel, "The Next to Last Day" (*Dzień przedostatni*); Szymański, "Prayer" (*Modlitwa*); Pałłasz, "August Where?" (*Gdzie sierpień?*); and Adam Sławiński, "The Year

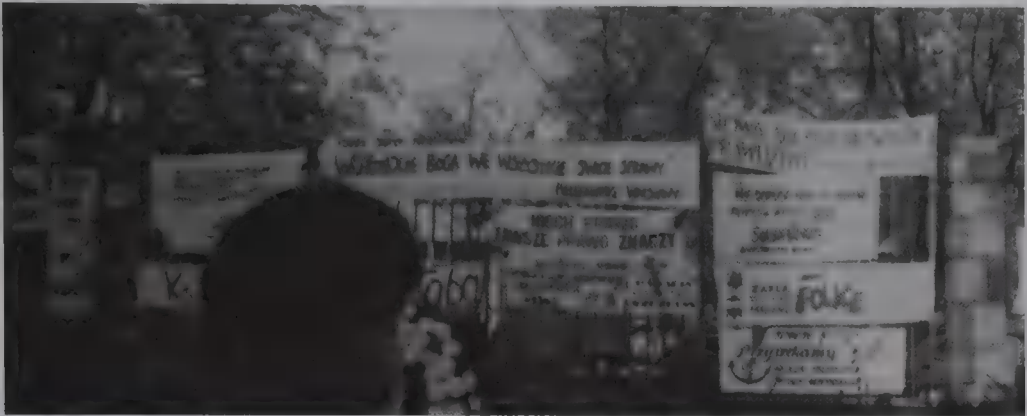


Figure 5. Solidarity banners in St. Stanisław Kostka churchyard, 20 October 1985. Author's private collection.

1944" (Rok czterdziesty czwarty). Knittel has said that he first met people in the "underground" after 1976. He began volunteering for what he considered to be relatively insignificant clandestine tasks, such as signing petitions and bringing back books from abroad that were not approved by the government. Along with Kominek and many others, he delivered newspapers published as part of the *drugi obieg*. He did not tell anyone, even close family members, about these activities. In 1982, he declined a grant which would have allowed him to go to France for a year because he had friends in prison and wished to stay where he could be of assistance to them. Along with Kaczyński, he had been a member of Solidarity's Cultural Committee for the Mazowsze region; he had also cooperated with Solidarity's Circle of Independent Creators. Knittel has agreed that antigovernment activities were easier to undertake privately, since organizations such as the Composers Union were limited in what they could do, a reference, perhaps, to the union's decision to work within legal statutes and to make decisions by committee, which necessarily delayed action and made secrecy more difficult to maintain.

In 1981, together with Andrzej Biezan, Mieczysław Litwiński, and Tadeusz Sudnik, Knittel founded an improvisational group called the Cytula Tyfun Da Bamba Orchestra. Initially conceived at least partly as a joke, the imposition of martial law caused the ensemble's goal to become "freedom in art despite a totalitarian regime."¹²⁸ Until the autumn of 1984, this group, which changed its name to the Independent Electroacoustic Music Studio, and other more informal ensembles involving Knittel performed in schools, churches, galleries, private homes, and for striking students. The presentations were advertised by word of mouth and by flyers placed in churches, lending them a clandestine air, although Knittel has said that the school appearances

were supported by the National Philharmonic—at least until Biezan used a megaphone to read caricaturized versions of socialist slogans, which understandably alienated the authorities and brought a halt to these performances. Other participants in the Studio included Paweł Szymański, Stanisław Krupowicz, Andrzej Mitan, and Leszek Woźniakiewicz. In 1985, Knittel was awarded a Solidarity union prize for his String Quartet, part of which had been performed in 1985 at the memorial services for Father Jerzy Popiełuszko. The same Solidarity honor was received in 1983 by Lutosławski for his Third Symphony and in 1984 by Kaczyński for his work with the Traugutt Philharmonia.¹²⁹

Adam Sławiński, one of the contributors to the Traugutt Philharmonia's Warsaw Uprising program, wrote for both film and concert programs. His oeuvre noticeably lacks concert pieces written between 1981 and 1986, perhaps indicating a time when he either could not or chose not to compose, in reaction to martial law and its aftermath. He did assist the Composers Union during that period, however. In 1981, he was part of a committee asked to coordinate union activities with Solidarity; the other committee members were Knittel, Kaczyński, Ciechań, Perz, Twardowski, and Józef Talarczyk. From 1983 to 1985, he was on the union's committee to help revise the list of fees for commissions and from 1985 to 1991, he was a member of the union's presidium, serving terms as treasurer, secretary-general, and vice president.¹³⁰

Yet another contributor to the Traugutt Philharmonia programs who also participated in union activities was Paweł Szymański, the leading young Polish composer of the early and mid-1980s. Normally reserved in his demeanor, he offered perhaps his most cogent comments about his political attitude in the program book for the 1983 Warsaw Autumn Festival, when his Sonata for twenty-seven violins, three double basses, and percussion was performed. The published version of the program note, given below, apparently was censored by the Ministry of Culture and Art. As Patkowski commented at a post-Festival meeting, the Ministry had wanted commentary about "beautiful, heroic colors," while composers "wanted to speak about the times in which they live."¹³¹

The first performance of Sonata took place on the 15th of December in Warsaw during the concert "Hommage a Karol Szymanowski." . . . The program of that concert (whose idea was born in the hard and sad days of 1982) contained the works of Polish composers. . . . While working on Sonata between Spring and Autumn 1982, I was, probably for the first time, considering the possibility of expressing through music my attitudes toward reality, but whether you like it or not, music is a play of pure form and as such remains indifferent.¹³²

As had been the case with the Traugutt Philharmonia, churches became a favored locale for many artistic endeavors during the 1980s. Poets, writers, actors, musicians, and artists all enjoyed the protection of the Catholic Church, which allowed them to pursue their pastimes free of the restrictions placed on them by the government. Unlike the semi-official festivals in Stalowa Wola and Baranów, these were not funded by government entities. Renowned vocalist Stefania Woytowicz had withdrawn from public concert life during martial law, as had Lutosławski. She continued to perform, however, and appeared frequently in churches, where she presented pieces by contemporary Polish composers Ryszard Bukowski, Jan Maklakiewicz, Andrzej Kurylewicz, and Andrzej Nikodemowicz, among others.¹³³

Throughout the 1980s, Joseph Herter, an American living permanently in Poland, conducted the Schola Cantorum, a choral group that rehearsed at Warsaw's St. Anthony of Padua church. This group was a mix of Polish citizens and foreigners, including diplomats and their families. Among the Poles who participated were servicemen from the Polish military and members of the Polish opposition, the latter of whom occasionally passed documents to the diplomats during rehearsals. Some of the army choristers also provided permission slips for others to be out after curfew. Among the works performed by this and other ensembles led by Herter in the 1980s were Panufnik's *Katyń Epitaph*, banned from official performances due to its titular reference to the 1940 murders, and his Bassoon Concerto, dedicated to Popiełuszko and performed at the priest's parish church in the Żoliborz district of Warsaw. This author participated with Herter's choir in a performance of Mozart's *Requiem* in November 1985 and, in January 1986, the Polish premiere of Lutosławski's arrangement of *20 Polish Carols* for soprano, women's choir, and chamber orchestra. Herter also conducted Marcin Błazewicz's *Et tua res agitur*, Britten's *St. Nicholas Cantata*, Bernstein's *Chichester Psalms*, Bach's *Magnificat*, Honegger's *Christmas Cantata*, and excerpts from Handel's *Messiah*. The latter had been scheduled for 13 December 1981, the day martial law went into effect. Since all public events had been cancelled, the priest at the Warsaw church said that he could not host a concert, but would instead have a service of prayers with special music, that is, the Handelian excerpts. Three musicians, stopped by the police on their way to the service and asked to open their instrument cases, refused to do so, citing the extreme cold as a hazard. These performers were not allowed into the church.¹³⁴

As Herter has recounted, Schola Cantorum concerts were advertised in various ways, all of them involving means of communication that avoided government inspection: "We used to send out invitations

or leave them on the pews in various churches. Sometimes we had small posters [sized] A4 or A3, but they were photocopied—not printed—to get away from having the censors approve them. The Catholic press would usually run a notice on some of the concerts, too. Embassies would also run information on them in their staff newsletters.”¹³⁵ These performances seem to have been less secretive than the Traugutt Philharmonia programs had been, although the full extent of the Philharmonia’s publicity efforts is as yet unknown.

The number of unofficial activities in which composers and musicologists participated in the 1970s and 1980s, including those that could be described as semi-underground or semi-official, never reached the level that occurred in the literary field. Initiated by the younger generation of musicians, others soon became involved. They willingly jeopardized their careers, since the threat of harassment and possible disciplinary action was always present, as proven by the politically motivated problems experienced by Górecki and the dismissal of several musicologists from Polish Radio. They likely knew, however, that such risks were minimal, in part due to the government’s reluctance to endanger its international prestige within the field of contemporary music. Indeed, the majority of problems encountered by Composers Union members can be traced to the politicization of their positions in higher education or activities in institutions such as Polish Radio or PWM, not to their actual professional output as composers and musicologists. For its part, the government seemed content to ignore many unofficial musical activities, perhaps because the few events that did occur could not be easily duplicated, in contrast to the broad dissemination of underground literature that had become a hallmark of the opposition movement.

The Composers Union almost certainly had the highest percentage of non-Party members of all the creative unions, yet in the 1970s, it had not been a reactionary group with regard to social engagement in Poland. Its members had taken an essentially conservative approach, even as some of their colleagues in literature, art, theater, and film had embarked upon more risky paths of opposition. What must be remembered is that the Composers Union never supported the government—publicly or privately—in either the 1970s or 1980s. The unwritten policy of public neutrality followed by the union in the 1970s, however, was not acceptable to its members after Solidarity had been legalized and then nearly crushed. The leadership change in the Composers Union in 1979 helped make a change in tactics possible. These same leaders eventually decided, after a veiled threat to the union’s existence, to eliminate its public advocacy for other creative unions and its

endorsement of democracy for Polish society. Although composers and musicologists continued to cooperate with the Composers Union, a number of them, including some from the executive board, ignored this backpedaling in favor of continuing or, for some, initiating antiestablishment activities. The semi-official presentations of the 1970s were replaced in the mid-1980s by events more clandestine in nature. This might be described as a “win–win” situation for Polish musical life—the Composers Union, no longer openly provoking the government, maintained its autonomy, while an alternative, unofficial movement coexisted alongside this legitimate institution. Members of the Composers Union, able to intertwine official and unofficial activities, did in fact succeed in acting upon their antigovernmental sentiments in their quest to effect change in Poland’s musical and social arenas.

Notes

Cindy Bylander received her PhD in musicology from The Ohio State University and currently resides in San Antonio, Texas. She was awarded a U.S. Fulbright grant to conduct research in Poland in the 1980s. Her research specialty is post–World War II Polish music. She is particularly interested in the compositions of Krzysztof Penderecki, the impact of the Warsaw Autumn International Festival of Contemporary Music on musical life in that country, and the cultural diplomacy practiced by the Polish Composers Union and other music festivals and institutions in Poland. Bylander has presented papers at conferences in the United States and Europe. She is the author of *Krzysztof Penderecki: A Bio-Bibliography* (2004) and has contributed articles to *Musicology Today* (2010), “Warsaw Autumn” as a Realisation of Karol Szymanowski’s Vision of Modern Polish Music (2007), *Music of the Twentieth-Century Avant-Garde* (2002), *Studies in Penderecki*, *Ruch Muzyczny*, *Polish Music Journal*, and *Polish Music Center Essays*. Her article on Penderecki’s symphonies is forthcoming in *Polish Music since 1945*. E-mail: bylanderc@gmail.com.

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1. “Protokół z obrad nadzwyczajnego plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 1 września 1980,” 2, ZKP 40/4, quoted in *50 lat Związku Kompozytorów Polskich*, ed. Ludwik Erhardt (Warsaw: Związek Kompozytorów Polskich, 1995), 133.
2. Józef Patkowski, “... Suchą stopą przez ‘morze czerwone,’” in Erhardt, *50 lat Związku Kompozytorów Polskich*, 146.
3. Andrzej Paczkowski, *The Spring Will Be Ours: Poland and the Poles from Occupation to Freedom*, trans. Jane Cave (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 322–33.
4. For detailed commentaries on the Warsaw Autumn Festival, see Cynthia E. Bylander, “The Warsaw Autumn International Festival of Contemporary Music,

1956–1961: Its Goals, Structures, Programs, and People” (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 1989); Lisa Jakelski, “The Changing Seasons of the Warsaw Autumn: Contemporary Music in Poland, 1960–1990” (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2009); Cindy Bylander, “Responses to Martial Law: Glimpses of Polish Musical Life in the 1980s,” *Musicology Today* (Warsaw) 7 (2010): 162–81; Olgierd Pisarenko, “Warszawska Jesień,” in Erhardt, *50 lat Związku Kompozytorów Polskich*, 181–95.

5. The Polish Composers Union archives, now housed at the Polish Music Information Center in Warsaw, includes summaries and minutes of meetings held by the union’s presidium, executive board, general assembly, and various subcommittees, a limited amount of correspondence, and information from Warsaw Autumn Festival meetings.

6. Jan Józef Szczepański, *Kadencja* (Warsaw: Bellona Oficyna Wydawnicza Volumen, 2009), 19, 24, 28, 35–36, 46–48; “Kalendarium opozycji politycznej PRL 1956–89: 1975,” <http://niniwa2.cba.pl/opozycja.htm>; Marta Fik, *Kultura polska po Jalcie. Kronika Lat 1944–1981* (London: Polonia Book Fund, 1989), 569–70; Stefan Kisielewski, *Dzienniki* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Iskry, 1996), 440, 552; Andrzej Chłopecki, Introductory booklet for *Polish Collection from the “Warsaw Autumn” 1956–2005*, POLMIC 001-010 (Warsaw: Polish Composers Union, 2005–7), 63; Cecylia Kuta, “Niezależny twórca pod maską ‘błazna’: Stefan Kisielewski 1911–1991,” *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej* 5–6 (2009), http://www.ipn.gov.pl/porta1/pl/24/9834/nr_562009.html, 119–20; “Wiśława Szymboska 1923–2012. Noblistka nie żyje,” *Polityka* (1 February 2012).

7. Barbara Polak, “Związani: O Związku Literatów Polskich z Andrzejem Chojnowskim, Sebastianem Ligarskim—Historykami i Joanną Siedlecką—Pisarką rozmawia Barbara Polak,” *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej* 8–9 (2008): 2–3, http://www.ipn.gov.pl/porta1/pl/24/7873/nr_892008.html.

8. Marek Jastrzębski and Ewa Krysiak, “Avoiding Censorship: The ‘Second Circulation’ of Books in Poland,” *Journal of Reading* 36, no. 6 (March 1993): 471; for information on Polish artists involved in this underground movement, see “Plastyka w drugim obiegu,” <http://kultura-niezalezna.pl/porta1.php?serwis=rkn&dzial=1143&id=8573&poz=3&update=1>; Kuta, “Niezależny twórca,” 121; Szczepański, *Kadencja*, 37; for a list of several of the initial publications in the *drugi obieg*, see “Kalendarium opozycji politycznej w PRL 1956–1989: Październik 1977,” <http://niniwa2.cba.pl/opozycja.htm>.

9. Kazimierz Brandys, *A Warsaw Diary 1978–1981*, trans. Richard Lourie (London: Chatto & Windus/Hogarth Press, 1983), 152.

10. For example, Andrzej Żuławski’s *Na srebnym globie* (On the Silver Globe) was banned, whereas Wajda’s *Bez nieczulenia* (Rough Treatment) and Krzysztof Kiesłowski’s *Amator* (Film Buff) were shown. Bolesław Michałek and Frank Turaj, *The Modern Cinema of Poland* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 57, 66–67; Kazimierz Braun, *History of Polish Theater, 1939–1989. Spheres of Captivity and Freedom* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 88–99; Halina Filipowicz, “Polish Theatre after Solidarity,” *Drama Review* 36, no. 1 (1992): 76–78; Szczepański, *Kadencja*, 215; for a brief history of the Polish Filmmakers Association, see “Stowarzyszenie Filmowców Polskich. Historia,” <http://www.sfp.org.pl/o-sfp.pl,3e846361a7794fa.html>; for information on independent Polish film during this period, see “Polski film niezależny

1976–1989,” http://kultura-niezalezna.pl/portal/rkn/1144/8575/FILM_NIEZALEZNY.html; Bolesław Michałek, “Film wczoraj i dziś,” in *Kongres Kultury Polskiej* (Warsaw: n.p., 1982?): 24–26. This is a typed, bound collection of selected speeches given at the Polish Cultural Congress in 1981; it was printed during martial law, most likely in 1982. No editor, publisher, or year is provided, however. See “Plastyka w drugim obiegu.”

11. Juliusz Tysza, “Teatr ósmego dnia, historia zespołu,” <http://www.osmego.art.pl/t8d/main/pl>; “Theatre of the Eighth Day,” <http://www.arts.gla.ac.uk/Slavonic/staff/EighthDay.html>, in which information is taken from *Censorship: A World Encyclopedia*, ed. Derek Jones (London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2001); Jerzy Tymicki and Andrzej Niezgoda, “New Dignity: The Polish Theatre 1970–1985,” *Drama Review* 30, no. 3 (August 1986): 23.

12. Krystyna Tarnawska-Kaczorowska, Zygmunt Krauze. *Między intelektem, fantazją, powinnością i zabawą* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2001), 30; “Zygmunt Krauze,” http://polmic.pl/index.php?option=com_mwosoby&id=34&view=czlowiek&litera=12&Itemid=5&lang=pl; “Paweł Szymański,” http://polmic.pl/index.php?option=com_mwosoby&id=6&view=czlowiek&litera=21&Itemid=5&lang=pl; Krzysztof Knittel, “Życiorys—K.Knittel, 24.10.2010.doc,” unpublished document provided to the author.

13. The Composers Union’s goals, as stated in its statutes, were to “(1) support the creations of composers and musicologists, (2) raise the professional and artistic qualifications of its members, (3) develop and disseminate musical culture in Poland, (4) publicize members’ creations domestically and abroad, (5) oversee care for young composers and musicologists, (6) cooperate with authorities, state institutions, and social organizations to create favorable conditions for developing the creations of composers and musicologists and the initiation of every type of action in this area, [and to] (7) grant material assistance and care for members and their families.” XXII Walny Zjazd Członków Związku Kompozytorów Polskich, 18–19.III.1983, Załącznik 3, ZKP, 42/5.

14. This joint Composers Union–Ministry of Culture and Art group based its decisions on available funds and a list of fees that categorized each grant by the length of the composition and the number of instruments required. The list remained unchanged from 1954 to 1975, at which time rates were increased by 50 percent. The next increase, of 100 percent, came in 1982 after substantial fee increases rendered the prevailing rates untenable. The union also supported the Authors Agency, a publisher of chamber music established in 1972. Stephen Montague, “Interview with Zygmunt Krauze,” *Contact* (Summer 1978): 9–10; “Refleksje na temat osobowości i jego udziału w życiu muzycznym,” in Witold Lutosławski i jego wkład do kultury muzycznej XX wieku, ed. Jadwiga Paja-Stach (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2005), 172–73; “Muzyka polska w sezonie 1972/73,” *Ruch muzyczny* 17, no. 18 (1973): 1, insert; Janusz Cegieła, *Szkice do autoportretu polskiej muzyki współczesnej* (Kraków: PWM, 1976), 138; Grzegorz Michalski, *Lutosławski w pamięci* (Gdańsk: Towarzystwo im. Witolda Lutosławskiego, 2007), 135; Władysław Słowiński, “Niektóre fakty, wspomnienia, refleksje,” in Erhardt, *50 lat Związku Kompozytorów Polskich*, 98; Min Kultury i Sztuki, KC P.Z.P.R., Sejm, Rada Państwa 1982–84; letter from Władysław Słowiński, secretary-general, to Professor Kazimierz Żygulski, Minister of Culture and Art, 13 January 1984, ZKP, 56/5.

15. Alina Sawicka-Baird, “Komisje Kwalifikacyjne,” in Erhardt, *50 lat Związku Kompozytorów Polskich*, 22.

16. All members begin as candidates and have from five to seven years to prove themselves worthy of being "regular" or "extraordinary" members. Stenogram obrad XVI Walnego Zebrania Członków Związku Polskich Kompozytorów obradującego w dniach 8, 9, i 10 lutego 1971r., 104, 109, 136–39, 187–88, 247–51, ZKP, 12/17; XVIII Walne Zebranie 11–13.iv.1975r, Stenogram z obrad, 58–63, ZKP, 12/20.
17. The union's leadership consisted of the executive board, which was elected by the full membership at each general assembly and met approximately every two months, and the presidium, which consisted of the president, two vice presidents, secretary-general, and treasurer, who were selected by the executive board from among its own members. The presidium generally met weekly or biweekly.
18. "Refleksje," *Witold Lutosławski*, 172.
19. For example, at one such meeting held in early 1979, attendees Lutosławski, Patkowski, Bloch, Tomaszewski, Władysław Słowiński, and Michael Bristiger evaluated which candidates supported the "good will and 'political' policies" of the executive board. Jan Stęszewski, then the union's president, related this information in a 1995 letter to Krzysztof Meyer, quoted in Danuta Gwizdalanka and Krzysztof Meyer, *Lutosławski. Droga do mistrzostwa* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 2005), 241–42, 244.
20. "Refleksje," *Witold Lutosławski*, 162–63, 172; Michalski, *Lutosławski*, 134–35.
21. Stęszewski recalled that one of the union's presidents had been a Party member, but admitted that his statement might be incorrect. To this author's knowledge, none of the union's presidents was a member of the Polish United Workers Party, which came into existence in 1948. Witold Rudziński, president from 1950 to 1951, has said that he refused entreaties to join the Party. None of his successors (Tadeusz Szeligowski, Kazimierz Sikorski, Zbigniew Turski, and Stefan Śledziński) were members, either. Similarly, Tomaszewski has recalled that PWM was the only publisher in Poland that did not have a Party member as its director. Jan Stęszewski, "Między Bachem a Techmą," in Erhardt, *50 lat Związku Kompozytorów Polskich*, 116–17; Witold Rudziński, "Związek w pierwszym dziesięcioleciu po wojnie," in Erhardt, *50 lat Związku Kompozytorów Polskich*, 58–59; David Gerard Tompkins, "Composing the Party Line: Music and Politics in Poland and East Germany 1948–1957" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2004), 123; Krzysztof Droba, *Odczytywanie na nowo. Rozmowy z Mieczysławem Tomaszewskim* (Kraków: PWM, 2011), 148.
22. Słowiński named musicologists Elżbieta Dziębowska and Włodzimierz Kamiński, composers Benedykt Konowalski, Zbigniew Ciechan, Andrzej Ługowski, Tadeusz Machl, and Jadwiga Szajna-Lewandowska, as well as Mieczysław Drobner, who was accepted to the union as both a composer and a musicologist. By 1981, composers Lucjan Kaszycki, Bronisław Przybylski, and Leszek Wiślocki were also mentioned as members of this group. Tomaszewski has said that Leszek Polony was also a Party member. Reports from this unit were not given at the general assemblies, in contrast to the union's own elected subcommittees. In fact, most of these individuals are rarely, if ever mentioned in archival materials. According to Słowiński, similar Party groups were appointed in all creative unions. I do not have independent confirmation that the individuals named by Słowiński were card-carrying Party members. XVIII Walne Zebranie 11–13.IV.1975r., 33, ZKP, 12/20; Protokół z obrad IV Plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w Warszawie w dniu 25 stycznia 1979 r., 5, ZKP, 40/2;

Sprawozdanie z działalności Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich za okres 1979 r.–1981 r., 14, ZKP, 42/3; Droba, *Odczytywanie na nowo*, 148.

23. Andrzej Chodkowski, an executive board member from 1977 to 2003, offered a similar evaluation of Słowiński's value to the Composers Union. Andrzej Chodkowski, "Moje związki ze Związkiem," in Erhardt, *50 lat Związku Kompozytorów Polskich*, 172.

24. Perkowski, a composer, was not a Party member but he was associated with the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, which was created by the government in 1982 to show support for the Party and its own initiatives. Rudziński favored the policies of Socialist Realism in the 1950s. Droba, *Odczytywanie na nowo*, 148.

25. "Refleksje," Witold Lutosławski, 162, 172; Gwizdalanka and Meyer, *Lutosławski*, 238–42; Dąbrowski, "U boku Stefana Śledzińskiego," 95; Florian Dąbrowski, "U boku Stefana Śledzińskiego i później," in Erhardt, *50 lat Związku Kompozytorów Polskich*, 87–89.

26. The initial session of each general assembly was attended by the Minister of Culture and Art and other institutional officials. For example, see XVIII Walne Zebranie 11–13.iv.1975 r., 6–9, ZKP, 12/20.

27. See Stenogram obrad w dniach 8, 9, i 10 lutego 1971 r., 106, ZKP, 12/17; Sprawozdanie z działalności Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich za okres od dnia 3 lutego 1969 do dnia 6 lutego 1971, 6, ZKP, 12/17; Stenogram obrad XIX Walnego Zjazdu 5–6.III.77, 37–38, ZKP, 21/2; Stenogram obrad plenarnych Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 20 grudnia 1977 r., 28, ZKP, 40/2; Stenogram obrad XX Walne Zebrania Związku Kompozytorów Polskich, Warszawa, 27–28 luty 1979 r., 40, ZKP, 42/1; Protokół z obrad w dniu 25 stycznia 1979 r., 3, ZKP, 40/2.

28. See Stenogram obrad w dniach 8, 9, i 10 lutego 1971 r., 218–25, ZKP, 12/17; XVIII Walne Zebranie 11–13.iv.1975r., 27–28, ZKP, 12/20; Stenogram z obrad plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w Poznaniu w dniu 28 kwietnia 1977 r., Wnioski uchwalone przez Walne Zebranie Członków ZKP w dniu 6 marca 1977, 1–2, ZKP, 40/2; Stenogram obrad 27–28 luty 1979 r., 50, 142–69, ZKP, 42/1.

29. Archival records rarely include details from these meetings; only a few have been discussed in later publications. Extant letters to and from the Composers Union and other institutions are, however, formal and succinct. Gwizdalanka and Meyer, *Lutosławski*, 224, 228; Sprawozdanie z działalności od dnia 3 lutego 1969 do dnia 6 lutego 1971, 3, ZKP, 12/17; Min. Kult. i Sztuki Gabinet Ministra, Korespondencja Organiz. 1966–77 r., Letter from Stęszewski and Słowiński to Józef Teichma, 14 March 1974, ZKP, 12/142; Stenogram obrad 27–28 luty 1979 r., 8, ZKP, 42/1; Protokół Nr. 11/78 z zebrania Prezydium Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 7 września 1978 r., 2, ZKP, 41/1.

30. Passports had to be requested for each trip outside of Poland. The Composers Union submitted requests to the Ministry of Culture and Art for travel funds and passport approvals. See Stenogram obrad w dniach 8, 9, i 10 lutego 1971 r., 164, ZKP, 12/17; Stenogram obrad 5–6.III.1977 r., 10, ZKP, 21/2; Protokół nr 8/78 z posiedzenia Prezydium ZG ZKP w dniu 9 czerwca 1978 roku, 2, ZKP, 41/1; Protokół nr 1 z posiedzenia Prezydium ZG ZKP w dniu 1 marca 1979 r., 2, ZKP, 41/2; Protokół Nr. 19/79 z posiedzenia Prezydium Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 31

października 1979 r., 1–2, ZKP, 41/2; Protokół z obrad Plenum ZG ZKP w dniu 28 lutego 1980 r., 7, ZKP, 40/3; Główny Urząd Kontrol Prasy 1980–1984, Informator ZG ZKP, Warszawa, sierpień 1983 r., 4, ZKP, 56/7; Sprawozdanie z działalności Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich za okres od 20 marca 1983 do 28 lutego 1985, 5, ZKP, 53/1.

31. Józef Tejchma, *Kulisy dymisji*. Z *Dzienników Ministra Kultury* (Kraków: Oficyna Cracovia, 1991), 97–98; Stęszewski, “Między Bachem a Tejchmą,” 115–16.

32. Tomaszewski has said that the Minister of Culture and Art frequently deferred to the secretary of the Central Committee’s Cultural Department, making the Party the final arbiter in cultural affairs. This delayed the decision-making process for PWM and presumably for the Composers Union also. See Stenogram obrad 27–28 luty 1979 r., 46, ZKP, 42/1; Droba, *Odczytywanie na nowo*, 150.

33. Zdzisław Sierpiński, “My i Oni,” *Ruch muzyczny* 15, no. 7 (1971): 4–5; Kisielewski, *Dzienniki*, 181–82, 555.

34. Paczkowski, *Spring Will Be Ours*, 555.

35. See Stenogram obrad 5–6.III.77, 54–55, 59, ZKP, 21/2.

36. Jerzy Waldorff, *Muzyka Łagodzi Obyczaje* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1982), 260–61; Dąbrowski, “U boku Stefana Śledzińskiego,” 89.

37. Kaczyński’s interview was published in October 1963 in *Ruch muzyczny*. Grzegorz Michalski, “Krytyka (muzyczna) cenzury,” *Ruch muzyczny* 56 (22 January 2012): 7–8; Violetta Wejs-Milewska, “Roman Palester’s ‘The Marsyas Conflict’ as a Radical Vision of the Emigration,” *Musicology Today* (2011): 42–43; XXI Walne Zebranie Członków ZKP. Stenogram. Warszawa, 30–31.I.1981r., 61–62, ZKP, 42/3.

38. Panufnik defected from Poland in 1954. His and Palester’s works could not be programmed on the opening or closing concerts of the Warsaw Autumn Festival even after 1977. The Composers Union needed permission from the authorities to photocopy anything at state-sanctioned businesses. Mycielski’s works were photocopied, while Kisielewski’s were “transcribed.” Protokół nr 1/1978 z posiedzenia Prezydium Zarządu Głównego ZKP w dniu 5 stycznia 1978, 3, ZKP, 41/1; Protokół nr. 3/1978r. z zebrania Prezydium Zarządu Głównego Z.K.P. w dn. 17 lutego 1978 r., 3, ZKP, 41/1; Protokół nr. 6 z posiedzenia Prezydium Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 11 kwietnia 1979 r, 3, ZKP, 41/2; Zofia Helman, *Roman Palester. Twórca i dzieło* (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1999), 335; Fik, *Kultura polska*, 592; Michalski, “Krytyka (muzyczna) cenzury,” 7.

39. One story that has circulated about his reluctance to join the 1975 protest concerned the building of a preschool near his home, which might have distracted him from his composing. The government may have told him that if he refrained from signing this letter, these construction plans would be halted. Danuta Gwizdalanka, “Trzy Postawy wobec Totalitaryzmu: Roman Palester—Andrzej Panufnik—Witold Lutosławski,” in *Muzyka i Totalitaryzm*, ed. Maciej Jabłoński and Janina Tatarska (Poznań: Ars Nova, 1996), 176; Gwizdalanka and Meyer, *Lutosławski*, 228–29, 244.

40. Tejchma, *Kulisy dymisji*, 264; Gwizdalanka and Meyer, *Lutosławski*, 229–32.

41. Przemysław Ćwikliński and Jacek Ziarno, *Pasja: O Krzysztofie Pendereckim* (Warsaw: Polska Oficyna Wydawnicza “BGW,” 1993), 63, 139; Tejchma, *Kulisy dymisji*, 173.

42. Author's interview with Krzysztof Knittel, Warsaw, 22 July 2011; "Dobrowolski, Andrzej," *Kompozytorzy polscy 1918–2000. II. Biogramy*, ed. Marek Podhajski (Gdańsk: Akademia Muzyczna im. Stanisława Moniuszki, 2005), 181; Małgorzata Woźna-Stankiewicz, *Lwowskie geny owobowości twórczej. Rozmowy z Krzysztyną Moszumanską-Nazar* (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2007), 229; Gwizdalanka and Meyer, *Lutosławski*, 235.
43. One example of obstruction occurred with plans to have Warsaw's Grand Theater (Teatr Wielki) present *Paradise Lost* in either 1979 or 1980. The Ministry of Culture and Art, which required that all libretti be approved, rejected Erhardt's Polish translation of the libretto for this work. The Polish premiere was delayed until 1993. Ludwik Erhardt, "Jeden z bardziej niewygodnych języków," *Ruch muzyczny* 33, no. 7 (26 March 1989): 6.
44. In addition to these works, other sacred compositions written by Polish composers in the 1960s and 1970s included Witold Rudziński's *Gaude Mater Polonia* (1966), Penderecki's *Dies Irae* (1967), Augustyn Bloch's *Ayelet, Daughter of Jephtha* (1967), Andrzej Koszewski's *Three Carols* (1971–75), Górecki's *Ad matrem* (1971), Józef Świder's *Gaude Mater* (1975), Bloch's *Anenaike* (1979), and Juliusz Łuciuk's *Mass of Thanksgiving* (1974) and *Francis of Assisi* (1976). "Interview with the Composer," *Penderecki: Seven Gates of Jerusalem*, ArtHaus Musik 100 009 (2001), DVD; Maja Trochimczyk, "Boże coś Polskę," http://www.usc.edu/dept/polish_music/reperto/boze.html.
45. Tomaszewski described the severity of censorship in Poland as being dependent on both the individuals performing the critiques and the climate of the times. Droba, *Odczytywanie na nowo*, 155, 158–59. The sumptuous frontispiece material for PWM's 1977 printing of *Utrenja, Part I*, includes the complete text in multiple languages, reproductions of paintings, prints, and frescos, and comments on the liturgical context of the passages chosen by the composer.
46. In 1971, the Composers Union had also protested the government's decision to bar Bohdan Wodiczko, a conductor, from the position of rector at the same Warsaw school. Author's interview with Knittel, 2011; Gwizdalanka and Meyer, *Lutosławski*, 235.
47. Adrian Thomas, *Górecki* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 94–95, 99–100; Krzysztof Droba, *Spotkanie z Eugeniuszem Knapikiem* (Katowice: Akademia Muzyczna im. Karola Szymanowskiego, 2011): 122–28; George Weigel, *Witness to Hope* (New York: Harper, 2001), 318, 916.
48. "Tekst Źródłowy. Główne kierunki działania w zakresie współpracy kulturalnej z zagranicą w związku z realizacją aktu końcowego KBWE / zaakceptowano przez Biuro Polit. KC PZPR w dn. 5 VI 1976," *Ministerstwo Kultury i Sztuki w dokumentach 1918–1998*, ed. Jerzy Gmurek (Warsaw: Instytut Kultury, 1998), 301; Chłopecki, "Polish Collection," 63; Tejchma, *Kulisy dymisji*, 135; Krzysztof Meyer, "O Związku z pamięci," in Erhardt, *50 lat Związku Kompozytorów Polskich*, 159; Pisarenko, "Warszawska Jesień," 186.
49. Kisielewski, *Dzienniki*, 895. For an overview of Polish music in the 1970s and 1980s, see Adrian Thomas, *Polish Music since Szymanowski* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), chaps. 11–12. See also Andrzej Panufnik, *Composing Myself* (London: Methuen, 1987), 333; Helman, *Roman Palester*, 335.

50. Karolina Ziolo, "The Opposition Movement Writers—A Difficult Co-Existence: The Polish Writers Union in the 1970s and 1980s," http://sheffield.academia.edu/KarolinaZiolo/Papers/438175/The_Opposition_Movement_and_Writers_-_A_Difficult_Co-Existence._The_Polish_Writers_Union_in_the_1970s_and_1980s; <http://literaci.eu/index.php/historia-zlp.html>; Roman Stefanowski, "Poland under Martial Law: A Chronology of Events 13 December 1981–30 December 1982," *Radio Free Europe/RL Background Report*, <http://fa.osaarchivum.org/background-reports?col=8&id=40463>; "Plastyka w drugim obiegu."

51. Flying University courses began in 1977. Brandys, *Warsaw Diary*, 56–57; Michael Kaufman, "Warsaw Journal: Serenading the Lost Lambs of the Counterculture," *New York Times*, 5 February 1987. Interestingly, there is almost no mention about classical music or musicians on <http://kultura-niezalezna.pl>, a site sponsored by Poland's Institute of National Remembrance that contains materials about underground culture, including a section on rock music.

52. Details of most of the programs for the Weeks of Christian Culture are currently unknown. Bogusław Tracz, "Kościół mecenasem i parasolem ochronnym," *Rzeczpospolita* no. 114 (16–17 May 2009): *Poza cenzurą* supplement, 4; Ks. Wiesław Al. Niewęglowski, "Duszpasterstwo Środowisk Twórczych na przełomie wieków," <http://www.dst.mkw.pl/historia.htm>; Fik, *Kultura polska*, 560, 578, 594, 616, 634, 645, 759; Kuta, "Niezależy twórca," 121; "Refleksje," Witold Lutosławski, 170–71; Iwona Bias, *Aleksander Lasoń: Portret kompozytor* (Katowice: Akademia Muzyczna im. K. Szymanowskiego, 2001), 5, 10; Droba, *Odczytywanie na nowo*, 160–62.

53. Author's private correspondence, 14 January 1986. One of the two events in the November Week of Christian Culture was a talk by a poet/dramatist held in a church basement, in which the speaker made an analogy between the martyrdom of Christ and the installation of martial law in Poland. The other event was a concert of Baroque music.

54. Tracz, "Kościół mecenasem," 4; Jan Kubik, *The Power of Symbols against the Symbols of Power: The Rise of Solidarity and the Fall of State Socialism in Poland* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 118–19; For information on Sacrosong's origins and goals, see <http://www.sacrosong.eu/misja-sacrosongu.html>.

55. Tadeusz Kaczyński, "Pierwszy wernisaż muzyczny," *Ruch muzyczny* 20, no. 11 (1976): 11.

56. Witold Rudziński commented in 1977 that music in clubs was "left to its own fate." The extent to which these venues were overseen by governmental agencies is not known to this author. Michniewski, recognized primarily as a conductor, is not a Composers Union member. Stenogram obrad, 5–6.III.77, 125–26, ZKP, 21/2; Sprawozdanie za okres 1979 r–1981 r., 1, ZKP, 42/3; author's interview with Knittel, 2011; Knittel, "Życiorys."

57. Music theorists, with degrees from Higher Schools of Music rather than universities, were part of the Composers Union's Musicology Section. Krzysztof Droba, "Przybliżanie muzyki: Ives, nowy romantyzm i wychowanie estetyczne," *Klucz* [Katowice Academy of Music] 10 (December 2011): 8.

58. Author's correspondence with Krzysztof Droba, 26 January 2012, 27 February 2012.

59. Krzysztof Droba, "Odczytywanie na nowo. Rozmowy z Mieczysławem Tomaszewskim," *Ruch muzyczny* 55, no. 19 (2011): 14–15; Droba, *Odczytywanie na nowo*, 119; Droba, *Spotkanie z Eugeniuszem Knapikiem*, 39–42, 122; Piotr Jackowski, "Miejsce wolności," <http://petrus.blog.pl/komentarze/index.php?nid=2426516>; Andrzej Krzanowski, "W poszukiwaniu nowego Romantyzmu," <http://polskamuza.eu/siedemodslon.php?id=165.htm>; "Krzysztof Droba i jego festiwal," *Klucz* 10 (December 2011): 20–31.
60. State-sanctioned concert programs routinely had to be approved by governmental agencies.
61. Droba, "Odczytywanie na nowo," *Ruch muzyczny*, 15–16; *Spotkania Muzyczne w Baranowie 1: Muzyka w kontekście kultury* (Kraków: PWM, 1978); Małgorzata Komorowska, "Krystyna Tarnawska-Kaczorowska (1933–2005)," *De Musica* 12 (2006), http://free.art.pl/demusica/de_mu_12/12_16.html.
62. Dorota Szwarzman, *Czas Warszawskich Jesieni. O Muzyce Polskiej 1945–2007* (Warsaw: Stentor, 2007), 64–65.
63. For more information on the political and economic situation in Poland in the 1980s, see Paczkowski, *Spring Will Be Ours*, chaps. 7–8.
64. Stenogram obrad Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 19 listopada 1980 r., 61, ZKP, 40/4, also quoted in *50 lat Związku Kompozytorów Polskich*, 134; Protokół 6/81 z posiedzenia Prezydium Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 23 marca 81, 2, ZKP, 41/4; Patkowski, "... Suchą stopą," 147.
65. See XXI Walne Zebranie, 30–31.I.1981 r., 58, 61, ZKP, 42/3.
66. XXI Walne Zebranie, 30–31.I.1981 r., 74, II-43, III-54–III-97, ZKP, 42/3.
67. All creative unions had representatives on this committee. Stenogram obrad Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 9 marca 1981 r., 13, ZKP, 40/5; Protokół nr. 32/81 z posiedzenia Prezydium ZG ZKP w dniu 5 października 1981 r., 3, ZKP 41/4.
68. Edward Bury said he initiated his own contacts with Solidarity in Krakow and that others, unnamed, had done the same in Katowice. See XXI Walne Zebranie, 30–31.I.1981 r., III-86, ZKP, 42/3; Protokół nr. 37/81 z posiedzenia Prezydium ZG ZKP w dniu 9 listopada 1981 r., 1–3, ZKP, 41/4.
69. Stenogram obrad w dniu 19 listopada 1980 r., 61, ZKP, 40/4, also quoted in Erhardt, *50 lat Związku Kompozytorów Polskich*, 134; Patkowski, "... Suchą stopą," 147; Chodkowski, "Moje związki," 171; Gwizdalanka and Meyer, *Lutosławski*, 306; "Organizacja i Cele Kongresu," in *Kongres Kultury Polskiej*, 2.
70. See Protokół nr. 37/81 w dniu 9 listopada 1981 r., 1, ZKP, 41/4.
71. See Protokół 6/81 w dniu 23 marca 1981, 1–2, ZKP, 41/4; Fik, *Kultura polska*, 662, 683, 728, 764; Władysław Malinowski, "Wieczory z muzyką polską. Wieczór pierwszy i drugi," *Ruch muzyczny* 25/6 (1981): 11–12; Elżbieta Szczepańska-Malinowska, "Wieczory z muzyką polską. Wieczór trzeci i czwarty," *Ruch muzyczny* 25/6 (1981): 12; Tadeusz Kaczyński, "Trzeciomajowy koncert 'Solidarności' na Zamku," *Ruch muzyczny* 25/11 (1981): 2; Andrzej Chodkowski, "Moje związki," in Erhardt, *50 lat Związku Kompozytorów Polskich*, 171; Jan Skórzyński and Marek Pernal, *Gdy niemożliwe stało się możliwe. Kalendarium Solidarności 1980–89* (Warsaw: Świat Książki, 2005), 76,

78; Marek Brzeźniak, "Atrakcyjny finał XXV Warszawskiej Jesieni," *Trybuna Robotnicza*, 28 September 1981; Marian Fuks, "XXV Warszawska Jesień. Muzyka polska," *Trybuna Mazowiecka*, 25–27 September 1981; Henryk Swolkien, "Różne barwy Jesieni," *Kurier Polski*, 30 September 1981; "Lidia Zielińska," http://polmic.pl/index.php?option=com_mwosoby&id=67&view=czlowiek&litera=29&Itemid=5&lang=pl;

Tadeusz Kaczyński, "W hołdzie robotnikom," *Ruch muzyczny* 25, no. 4 (1981): 9.

72. Stenogram obrad plenarnych Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 13 października 1980 r., 11, ZKP, 40/4; Protokół obrad /otwartego/ wyjazdowego Plenum Zarządu Głównego ZKP—Poznań 4 kwietnia 1981, 3, ZKP, 40/5.

73. The imprisoned Composers Union member is unnamed in available sources. His arrest has been described as "accidental." Patkowski, "... Suchą stopą," 149–50; Chodkowski, "Moje związki," 172; Gwizdalanka and Meyer, *Lutosławski*, 308; Szczepański, *Kadencja*, 191; Filipowicz, "Arts under Arms: From Solidarity to Arts Control," *Survey* 26, no. 4 (1982): 19.

74. Three Composers Union employees were transferred to the Ministry of Culture and Art to provide material and financial assistance for members of all creative unions. The Composers Union's library and the Warsaw Autumn Festival Committee were permitted to function by the Ministry of Culture and Art, but the presidium decided against permitting these activities while the union was still suspended. Preparations for a January 1982 meeting of the Stipends Committee were also undertaken during this time. Związek Kompozytorów Polskich w okresie zawieszenia działalności. Sprawozdanie [1982], 1–2, ZKP, 41/5; Stenogram obrad VII Plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 19 kwietnia 1982 r., 5–6, ZKP 40/7.

75. Sprawozdanie [1982], 1–2, ZKP, 41/5; Stenogram, 19 kwietnia 1982 r., 5, 17, ZKP 40/7; Protokół nr 29/82 z posiedzenia Prezydium Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 11 października 1982 r., 2, ZKP, 41/5; Protokół nr 31/82 z posiedzenia Prezydium Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 25 października 1982, 1, ZKP, 41/5; Stenogram obrad VIII Plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniach 7–8 czerwca 1982 r., 102, ZKP, 40/8; Sprawozdanie robocze z działalności ZG ZKP w okresie 1.04.1982–30.10.1982 r., 1, ZKP 42/5; Stenogram obrad Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 16 grudnia 1982 r., 6, ZKP 40/10.

76. Protokół z obrad VII Plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 19 kwietnia 1982 r., 7–13, ZKP 40/7.

77. Chodkowski, "Moje związki," 172; Protokół, 19 kwietnia 1982 r., 5–6, ZKP 40/7; Stenogram, 19 kwietnia 1982 r., 24–28, ZKP 40/7.

78. Among the most important organizational issues were difficulties in making both domestic and international telephone calls, problems receiving correspondence from abroad, cancellations of performers from France, West Germany, and Britain, and a lack of confirmation from the Ministry of Culture and Art concerning performers from Bulgaria and the Soviet Republic of Georgia. Patkowski, "... Suchą stopą," 150, 152–53; Słowiński, "Niektóre fakty," 111; Protokół, 19 kwietnia 1982 r., 5–6, ZKP 40/7; Stenogram, 19 kwietnia 1982 r., 28; 51–53, ZKP 40/7.

79. Szczepański, *Kadencje*, 182.

80. Filipowicz, "Polish Theatre after Solidarity," 79, 86; Paczkowski, *Spring Will Be Ours*, 471; Jane Curry, *Black Book of Polish Censorship* (New York: Vintage Books, 1984), 432–33; Szczepański, *Kadencje*, 157, 188, 258–59, 269; "Nr 34, 1982 czerwiec, Wydział Prasy, Radia i Telewizji KC PZPR. Informacja o wynikach weryfikacji kadr dziennikarskich," *Stan Wojenny w Dokumentach Władz PRL (1980–1983)*, 271–74, <http://13grudnia81.pl/dokumenty/zalaczniki/6-10762.pdf>; "Stowarzyszenie Filmowców Polskich. Historia," <http://www.sfp.org.pl/o-sfp,pl,3e846361a7794fa.html>; "Związek Artystów Scen Polskich. Historia," <http://www.zasp.pl/zasp/o-nas/historia.html>; Halina Filipowicz, "Arts under Arms," 19–21; Iwona Cegiełkówna, "Historia," <http://www.sfp.org.pl/o-sfp,pl,3e846361a7794fa.html>.

81. Perz also pointed out that the government would not know precisely who authored this resolution; in fact, even he did not know. Members of the Musicology Section conducted their own meetings but also participated fully in the life of the full union. Stenogram, 19 kwietnia 1982 r., 41–50, ZKP 40/7; Stenogram obrad w dniach 7–8 czerwca 1982 r., 3, ZKP, 40/8.

82. See Stenogram obrad w dniach 7–8 czerwca 1982 r. 44–45, ZKP, 40/8.

83. Stenogram, 19 kwietnia 1982 r., 11, ZKP, 40/7.

84. Protokół nr 6/82 z posiedzenia Prezydium Zarządu Głównego ZKP w dniu 3 maja 1982 r., 1–2, ZKP, 41/5; Protokół nr 11/82 z posiedzenia Prezydium Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 31 maja 1982 r., 1–2, ZKP, 41/5; Główny Urząd Kontrol Prasy 1980–1984, Informator ZG ZKP, Warszawa, grudzień 1982 r., 1–2, ZKP, 56/7; Stenogram obrad w dniach 7–8 czerwca 1982 r., 65–72, ZKP, 40/8; Walne Zebranie Członków Związku Kompozytorów Polskich, 18–19.III.1983, Stenogram, II-15, ZKP, 42/5.

85. The full Composers Union did not meet in a general assembly until 1983, which meant that the presidium and executive board took responsibility for decisions made in the months following the imposition of martial law. Protokół nr 27/82 z posiedzenia Prezydium Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich—w dniu 27 września 1982 r., 2, ZKP, 41/5.

86. According to Kominek, the union did not participate in the boycott of Polish Radio and TV, which was limited to actors. Author's interview with Mieczysław Kominek, Warsaw, 22 July 2011; Stenogram obrad w dniu 20 grudnia 1977 r., 21, 41–42, ZKP, 40/2; Protokół z obrad w dniu 25 stycznia 1979 r., 25 stycznia 1979 r., 3, ZKP, 40/2; Stenogram obrad 27–28 luty 1979 r., 40–44, 82, ZKP, 42/1; Stenogram obrad w dniu 9 marca 1981 r., 18–21, ZKP, 40/5; Stenogram obrad w dniach 7–8 czerwca 1982 r., 4, 65–69, 71, ZKP, 40/8; Stenogram, 18–19.III.1983, 39–40, ZKP, 42/5.

87. Michalski was released in May 1981 and Chłopecki in December of that year. Only Kominek and Obniska were union members at the time of their termination. The others were accepted later in 1982. A letter from Jan Grzelak to Edward Pałłasz, 1983, refers to the 9 August 1982 letter, quoted in Stenogram obrad Plenarnych Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 23 maja 1983 roku, 2–3, ZKP, 40/12; Stenogram, 18–19.III.1983, 53–54, ZKP, 42/5; Protokół nr 14/81 z posiedzenia Prezydium ZG ZKP w dniu 21 maja 1981 r., 1, ZKP, 41/4; Erhardt, *50 lat Związku Kompozytorów Polskich*, 6–12.

88. Protokół z obrad XXII Walnego Zebrania Członków Związku Kompozytorów Polskich z dniach 18 i 19 marca 1983 w Warszawie, 5, ZKP 42/5.
89. I am unable to determine if the others who were terminated were also part of Polish Radio's Solidarity group. Author's interview with Kominek, 2011; Stenogram obrad w dniu 23 maja 1983 roku, 48–49, ZKP, 40/12. "Andrzej Chłopecki," <http://pl.chopin.nifc.pl/chopin/persons/text/id/5841>. This is the web site for The Fryderyk [sic] Chopin Institute.
90. Each festival was discussed frequently by the executive board, although its programming was handled by a Program Committee of composers and musicologists appointed by the board.
91. The 1983 program was originally intended to include the premiere of a "Symphony" by Rafał Augustyn that "was written in dramatic times, but even more dramatic times caused it not to be premiered." The 1983 festival program book was also "brutally censored," in Patkowski's opinion. References to the 1980 events in Gdańsk and demonstrations against hunger in Łódź in July 1981 were censored from the program note for Panufnik's *Sinfonia Votiva*, which was not performed due to the illness of conductor Andrzej Markowski. Stenogram obrad plenarnych Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 7 listopada 1983 r., 9–10, ZKP, 40/14; Patkowski, "... Suchą stopą," 153; *Warsaw Autumn '83: 26th International Festival of Contemporary Music* (program book), 71, 173; Tadeusz Kaczyński, "Gra na trzech tonach. Warszawska Jesień 1983," unpublished ms., 1983.
92. Penderecki's *Lacrimosa*, commissioned for the tenth anniversary of the 1970 killings in Gdańsk, and Lidia Zielińska's *Epitaph in Memoriam Poznań 1956*, written in memory of the June 1956 riots in Poznań, are among other pieces from the early 1980s that have patriotic or politicized attributes. Thomas, *Polish Music*, 350; *Warsaw Autumn '84: 27th International Festival of Contemporary Music* (program book); Tadeusz Kaczyński, "Jesień nie tylko muzyczna," unpublished ms., 1984; "Lidia Zielińska," http://polmic.pl/index.php?option=com_mwosoby&id=67&view=czlowiek&litera=29&Itemid=5&lang=pl.
93. See Stenogram obrad w dniach 7–8 czerwca 1982 r., 63, 73, 77, 83, ZKP, 40/8.
94. The version of this resolution that was ratified by the State Council on 12 October 1982 referred to the dissolution of newly created unions, which meant that the Composers Union was not affected. The Sejm issued the final decree in December. Skórzyński and Pernal, *Kalendarium Solidarności*, 112–13.
95. Protokół nr 29/82, 11 października 1982 r., 1, ZKP, 41/5; Protokół nr 30/82 z posiedzenia Prezydium Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 18 października 1982 r., 1, ZKP, 41/5; Stenogram obrad w dniu 16 grudnia 1982 r., 43–50, ZKP, 40/10.
96. Stenogram, 18–19.III.1983, II-81–II-101, ZKP, 42/5.
97. Szczepański, *Kadencje*, 258–60.
98. The Union of Polish Authors and Composers, a group distinct from the Polish Composers Union, concerns itself with cabaret, theater music, and popular songs. The letter is quoted in Stenogram obrad w dniu 23 maja 1983 roku, 6–8, 10–11, ZKP, 40/12; The union's web site is <http://www.zakr.pl>.

99. The meeting with Żygulski and Świrgoń was held between 18 April 1983 and 20 May 1983, the date the Artists Union was dissolved. See Stenogram obrad w dniu 23 maja 1983 roku, 10–11, ZKP, 40/12.
100. The PEN Club is an international writers' association. The executive board of the Polish Section was dissolved, but not the entire organization. A temporary board was appointed that included a Ministry of Culture and Art representative. Szczepański, *Kadencje*, 297, 305, 308.
101. Protokół obrad III Plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniach 22 i 23 września 1983 roku, 1–2, ZKP, 40/13.
102. Stenogram obrad XXIII Walnego Zebrania Członków Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniach 1–2 marca 1985 r. w Warszawie, 1–2, ZKP, 53/1.
103. See Stenogram obrad w dniu 23 maja 1983 roku, 14, ZKP, 40/12.
104. See Protokół obrad w dniach 22 i 23 września 1983 roku, 1, ZKP, 40/13.
105. Stęszewski specifically named Bloch, Chodkowski, Słowiński, Kisielewski, Pałasz, Perz, Tomaszewski, Meyer, Lutosławski, Kaczyński, Zbigniew Rudziński, and Rafał Augustyn. Stenogram obrad w dniach 1–2 marca 1985 r. w Warszawie, 68, 70–71, ZKP, 53/1.
106. "Tekst Źródłowy 105. Archiwum MkiS, Departament Sztuki, syng. 1501/18," *Ministerstwo Kultury i Sztuki w dokumentach*, 305–11. This document is dated 5 August 1983.
107. Author's private correspondence, 2 December 1985; author's interview with Kominek, 2011; author's meeting with Anna Czekanowska, director of the Musicology Institute, Warsaw University, 13 September 1985.
108. Author's private correspondence, 7 October 1985; Jagoda Urban-Klaehn, "High Inflation and the Healing of Economy at the End of Communistic [sic] Era in Poland (IV)," <http://culture.polishsite.us/articles/art53fr.htm>; Paweł Piejko, "A Brief Journey Back to Communist Poland," <http://www.krakowpost.com/article/88>.
109. The Apple II had been on the market since 1977 and the IBM PC first appeared in 1981. In 1982, *Time* recognized the home computer as its "Person of the Year."
110. Paczkowski, *Spring Will Be Ours*, 462–63; Szczepański, *Kadencje*, 321; Aleksander Smolar, "The Polish Opposition," in *Crisis and Reform in Eastern Europe*, ed. Ferenc Feher and Andrew Arato (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1991), 195.
111. Stenogram obrad w dniach 7-8 czerwca 1982 r., 65–66, ZKP, 40/8.
112. Erhardt, *50 lat Związku Kompozytorów Polskich*, 146.
113. Szczepański, *Kadencje*, 308–9.
114. Krzysztof Meyer, liner notes to 6 *Symphonie "Die Polnische"* op. 57, Polish Radio Orchestra (Kraków), ProViva ISPV 179 (1997).
115. *Warsaw Autumn '84: 27th International Festival of Contemporary Music* (program book), Warsaw, 21–31 September 1984, 181.
116. Thomas, *Górecki*, 102.

117. *Agnus Dei* was composed in memory of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, the Catholic Primate of Poland. *Recordare* is dedicated to Maximilian Kolbe, a priest killed in Auschwitz. *Dies Irae* commemorates the 1944 Warsaw Uprising and *Libera, me* was composed in honor of the Katyń victims. Pamela Margles, "Krzysztof Penderecki. His Passion & Politics," *Music Magazine* 7, no. 5 (November–December 1984): 11; Allan Kozinn, "A Talk with . . . Krzysztof Penderecki," *Carnegie Hall Stagebill*, January 1986, 19.
118. Each State Higher School of Music became an Academy of Music in 1979.
119. Stachowski related a story concerning a conversation Penderecki had with the Minister of Culture and Art during an intermission of the 1986 Warsaw Autumn Festival concert. The composer requested money to buy instruments and electronic music equipment at Kraków's Music Academy and funds to cover the costs of the Autumn Festival recordings. The minister was surprised, but the next day approved the request for the recordings. I do not know if the Academy received any funds. Author's interview with Marek Stachowski, Warsaw, 28 May 1987. Patkowski, "... Suchą stopą," 148–49; Gwizdalanka and Meyer, *Lutosławski*, 311–12, 314; Ćwikliński and Ziarno, *Pasja*, 138; Słowiński, "Niektóre fakty," 113; Droba, *Odczytywanie na nowo*, 150–63; Stenogram, 19 kwietnia 1982 r., 9–10, ZKP, 40/7.
120. For example, he attended a performance of his Third Symphony at St. Michael's Church in Sopot on 31 August 1984. "Kalendarium sierpień 1984," *Encyklopedia Solidarności*, <http://www.encyklopedia-solidarnosci.pl/wiki/index.php?title=TL-1984/08>; Szwarzman, *Czas Warszawskich Jesieni*, 71; Gwizdalanka and Meyer, *Lutosławski*, 310, 384–86; Michalski, *Lutosławski*, 25, 103, 124–25, 146, 203, 231, 234; Protokół zebrania konstytucyjnego nowowybranego Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 19 marca 1983 r., 1, ZKP, 40/11.
121. Grażyna Jaworska, "Komitet Kultury Niezależnej," http://www.encyklopedia-solidarnosci.pl/wiki/index.php?title=T00442_Komitet_Kultury_Niezaleznej_Warszawa; Pisarenko, "Warszawska Jesień," 196.
122. In April 1983, the presidium of the Composers Union rejected Kaczyński's request for the use of an upright piano for a concert he had organized at St. Jacek's Church in Warsaw. This was probably the premiere of the Third of May program given on 2 May. Protokół nr 9/49/1983 z posiedzenia Prezydium Zarządu Głównego ZKP w dniu 28 lutego 1983, 1, ZKP, 41/6; Protokół nr 4/1983 z posiedzenia Prezydium Zarządu Głównego ZKP w dniu 18 kwietnia 1983, 1, ZKP, 41/6; Jacek Marczyński, "Będziemy dalej uprawiać ten ogród," in *Będziemy dalej uprawiać ten ogród*, comp. Ryszard Cieśla, Krzysztof Kur, and Marta Pielech (Warsaw: Fundacja Filharmonia im. Romualda Traugutta, 2008), 7–8, 28.
123. Krzysztof Bilica, "Wspomnienie o Tadeuszu Kaczyńskim," in *Będziemy dalej uprawiać ten ogród*, 22.
124. Kaczyński, "Trzeciomajowy koncert," 2.
125. The Stalowa Wola festivals were advertised in part via posters and banners displayed in public. "Mała antologia stalowowolska," *Klucz* 10 (December 2011): front cover, 19; Mika Długosz, "Tadeusz Kaczyński o koncercie Warszawskie Dzieci," *Życie codzienne* (21 July 1993), quoted in *Będziemy dalej uprawiać ten ogród*, 79; concert program given in "Warszawskie Dzieci," in *Będziemy dalej uprawiać ten ogród*, 78–79.

126. The actual invitation is on unlined paper. After receiving it, I taped it to lined paper (the only kind available) in an attempt to preserve it.
127. Author's private correspondence, 7 October 1985, 20 October 1985, 11 November 1985; Marta Pielech and Krzysztof Kur, "Kalendarium," in *Będziemy dalej uprawiać ten ogród*, 30; for more on the events surrounding the anniversary of Popiełuszko's death, see <http://www.apnewsarchive.com/1985/Slain-Pro-Solidarity-Priest-is-Mourned-at-Mass/id-5716e8129517037faf5b60d41d92e726>.
128. Szwarzman, *Czas Warszawskich Jesieni*, 77–78; "Krzysztof Knittel," <http://www.wizya.net/artist/knittel.htm>.
129. Szwarzman, *Czas Warszawskich Jesieni*, 70; Kuta, "Niezależny twórca," 104; Knittel, "Życiorys"; author's interview with Knittel, 2011.
130. Protokół nr 41/81, 30 listopada 1981 r., 1, ZKP, 41/4; Sprawozdanie za okres 20 marca 1983 do 28 lutego 1985, 14, ZKP, 53/1; "Adam Sławiński," http://polmic.pl/index.php?option=com_mwosoby&id=235&view=czlowiek&litera=21&Itemid=5&lang=pl.
131. Szymański was an active participant in the Composers Union's Circle of Young Composers in the early 1980s. See Stenogram obrad w dniu 7 listopada 1983 r., 9–10, ZKP, 40/14.
132. Quoted in *Warsaw Autumn '83: 26th International Festival of Contemporary Music* (program book), 173.
133. Małgorzata Komorowska, "Złote Głosy. Stenia," *Ruch muzyczny* 53, no. 19 (2009): 25–26; Hugon Bukowski, "Żytunia. Kto o tym pamięta," *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej* 102 (2011): 74.
134. Author's private correspondence, 6 January 1986, 14 January 1986; author's interview with Joseph Herter, Warsaw, 20 July 2011; Gabriel Meretik, *La Nuit du Général* (Paris: Editions Pierre Belford, 1989), published in Poland as *Noc generalna* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Alfa, 1989), 210–11.
135. Author's correspondence with Joseph Herter, 25 February 2012.

Paul Hindemith and the Cinematic Imagination

Alexandra Monchick

For the entire spectrum of optical, and now also acoustical, perception the film has brought about a similar deepening of apperception. . . . The camera introduces us to unconscious optics as does psychoanalysis to unconscious impulses.

Walter Benjamin (1936)

To a great extent, huge film “palaces” designed as splendid and glamorous buildings replaced the opera house during the Weimar Republic (1919–33).¹ Unlike going to the opera or the theater, going to the movies was an activity that could be enjoyed by almost all social classes. Movie tickets were cheap enough that only the extremely poor were excluded, and artistic standards were such that the movies could also be attractive to the educated and wealthy. Thus, in the 1920s, cinema reached more people than any other entertainment form.

Although feature films, often based on German literature, were produced in Germany in the 1910s, the German film industry made its mark internationally with a series of Expressionist films in the early 1920s. Expressionism in film was only loosely connected to the movements in painting and literature that originated shortly before the First World War, in that the films treated psychological or supernatural themes and relied on visual distortion. The plots and stories of Expressionist films often dealt with madness, insanity, and betrayal, and psychological states were visualized by sharply exaggerated shadows, high-contrast lighting, and skewed set designs. But such topics as health, nature, culture, and history, and *Bergfilme*, films about mountain climbing and skiing, gained popularity. And most notably, the montage film emerged. German film directors were drawn to the Russian director Sergei Eisenstein’s montage technique after the release of his controversial film about a naval mutiny, *Battleship Potemkin*, in 1926. In contrast

to the more political Russian films, however, the early German montage films were linked with contemporary photography and realistic *Neue Sachlichkeit* painting, patching together shots from daily life in rapid sequence. Though not to the same extent as their German counterparts, films produced in Russia, Italy, France, Denmark, and America were also shown in Germany during the Weimar Republic. Due to restrictions on the importation of international film, however, Hollywood never gained the same control of the German film market that it maintained almost everywhere else. The import ban was first lifted in 1920, and in 1925, a quota system was instituted that permitted the import of one international feature film for each domestic feature distributed in Germany. Shorts, however, were not subject to this quota. Slapstick comedy took Germany by storm, with Charlie Chaplin, Buster Keaton, and Fatty Arbuckle becoming household names.

During its efflorescence in the 1920s, the silent film had a profound effect on the arts, particularly music, which film needed as its voice. Film provided composers not only new creative and profitable opportunities, but profoundly affected, whether consciously or subconsciously, musical thought. Like several of his contemporaries, Paul Hindemith used the medium of film as a way to recapture a diminishing opera audience. His first full-length opera, *Cardillac* (1926), maintained a kinship with contemporary German Expressionist film for its plot and extended pantomime scene, and his one-act opera *Hin und zurück* (1927), or "There and Back," contains references to silent film scoring and even invokes the actual music of silent film. Hindemith's interest in film was not simply financial, but aligned closely with his musical aesthetics. Whereas a few German-language studies, such as those by Friederike Beker, Lothar Prox, and Gieselher Schubert, have focused on Hindemith's encounters with film during the 1920s, the impact that film had on his dramatic work has been largely neglected. Expressionist film plots, live film accompaniment, and film scoring profoundly shaped Hindemith's musical thought.

Dramatische Meisterwerke (1913–20)

In an autobiographical essay from 1922, the then twenty-one-year-old Paul Hindemith still primarily identified himself as a performer: "As a violinist, violist, pianist or drummer, I have amply 'tilled' the following musical realms: chamber music of all kinds, cinema, coffee house music, dance music, operetta, jazz, military music."² During the 1910s, Hindemith's primary vocation was as a violinist, playing both with the Frankfurt Opera Orchestra and as a second violinist in his teacher Adolf

Rebner's string quartet.³ Although he studied composition with Arnold Mendelssohn (Felix Mendelssohn's great-nephew) at the Hoch Conservatory from 1912 to 1913, and later Bernard Seckles, Hindemith only composed intermittently during the 1910s. In 1918, he was summoned to military service and assigned to the regimental band, in which he played the bass drum.⁴ Not only did he learn a significant amount of repertory as a symphonic and chamber music performer, but he played in more informal arenas, including coffeehouses, dance halls, and cinemas, in order to make extra money to support his studies. His exposure to film during this period would leave an imprint on his works of the following decade.

Hindemith became entranced with film during his late teens.⁵ He kept a diary for the year he spent in the army, in which he describes where and when he played as well as anecdotes about food, weather, and his daily activities, including going to the cinema.⁶ Indeed, Hindemith went to the cinema so often that he became critical and bored with it. In an entry from 24 February 1918, while he was stationed in Müllhausen, he wrote:

In the morning, an arduous quartet rehearsal. In the afternoon we played again for the count, who invited the unit commander. Wonderful music making for two attentive listeners. Again, good playing today. This evening, because of boredom bored with Philip at the cinema.⁷

In a subsequent diary entry from 22 November 1918, Hindemith writes about meeting a family in Düren, who took in himself and some of his fellow soldiers. In return, Hindemith and his fellow soldiers took the family's daughters to the cinema:

A child in the street, took us to his parents, the most courteous people one could imagine. Despite the most dire poverty imaginable that prevailed in the house, the people were out of a fairy tale in their generosity. Every wish, which they anticipated from our eyes, was filled, without our saying anything. One could not imagine greater hospitality anywhere. This evening we invited the daughters with us to the cinema.⁸

Hindemith returned to the cinema again in Düren a few nights later: "Slept for a long time. In the afternoon, a concert in front of the town hall. . . . In the evening, [went again] to the cinema."⁹

During this period, Hindemith wrote eight short parody plays, some of which contain cinematic elements. Juggling his time between the orchestra, the quartet, and then the army, he wrote down scenarios in two notebooks, which he ironically titled *Dramatische Meisterwerke*.

Grouped into three parts, the *Dramatische Meisterwerke* (1913–20) were quasi-autobiographical in nature and written primarily for the entertainment of friends. He wrote accompanying music for some of these plays, but none of it is known to survive. Furthermore, there is no record of these plays ever being performed, though one of Hindemith's letters mentions his intent to do so.¹⁰

Hindemith wrote the second of these eight plays, *Die Trägodie im Kino: Ein moralistisches Trauerspiel* (The Tragedy in Film: A Moral Tragedy) between 1913 and 1914. As Friederike Beker has pointed out, the title refers not only to the plot of the play but also to the contemporary state of the film industry.¹¹ Up until 1913, films were primarily lowbrow entertainment. With the arrival of feature-length *Autorenfilme* (director's films), the medium of film was brought to a new artistic level, and thus Hindemith's title denoted that the broader "moral tragedy" was that lowbrow entertainment was beginning to become highbrow entertainment. The play itself focuses on Flimmermann (a parodistic name based on the flicker of an image), a movie theater owner, his sidekicks Filmus and Leinewand (names based on "film" and "screen"), and the local theater accompanist Tästli (the Swiss diminutive of "little key").

In *Dr. H.C. Eine Scene* (1916–17), another of Hindemith's *Dramatische Meisterwerke*, an actual film projection becomes an essential part of the drama. Quite astonishing for the time, a character with the name of Racky talks only through a projection on the screen. In a subsequent play about a student outing in the Black Forest, *Todtmoosiana: Ein naturalistisches Schauspiel in drei Akten von mir* (1917), Hindemith incorporated an even longer film sequence.¹² The fourth scene is a film titled "The Hunt for the Box of Photos." It is not just any film sequence, but a planned commercial for Kodak. The commercial does not fit within *Todtmoosiana's* plot, but manages to incorporate one of the actresses from the play. One of the main characters, Bertie, goes on a wild goose chase to find her lost box of photos, which she has accidentally left on the street. She runs through the countryside and then up a mountain, while above her lost pictures, including one of the Kremlin and one of the Great Wall of China, are projected on the screen. The commercial ends with Bertie finding her camera in front of the chapel where she lost it. Furthermore, in addition to the titles, plots, and filmic inserts that Hindemith employs in some of these plays, the satirical and slapstick nature of many of the plots point to the short comic silent films of the era.¹³ In sum, though the *Dramatische Meisterwerke* were by no means "masterworks," they demonstrate Hindemith's familiarity with current trends in theater, literature, popular entertainment, and most notably film.

Im Kampf mit dem Berge (1921)

In 1920, Hindemith became acquainted with Arnold Fanck during a long stay at Fanck's Freiburg villa, at the invitation of his good friend (and Fanck's brother-in-law) Stefan Temesváry. At that time, Fanck was developing an interest in making "mountain films," or films about mountain climbers and skiers, which were geared toward Munich students who left the city to indulge their passions in the Bavarian Alps.¹⁴ Such *Bergfilme* were a clear departure from the contemporary German Expressionist films that were receiving acclaim in Germany at the time. The Expressionist films generally included celebrity actors, dealt with dark psychological themes, and used notably abstract sets, which were typically nonrealistic, quasi-Cubist, and often grotesque: Walls and floors were painted to represent lights, shadows, and objects. Fanck's mountain films, on the other hand, relied on actors and technicians who had to be skilled mountain climbers and skiers because the films were shot on location.¹⁵ *Bergfilme*, usually based on male-dominated *Bildungsroman* plots, were attractive to wide audiences, being less intellectual than their Expressionist counterparts. Additionally, their themes of nature and organicism brought a temporary respite from the technology and fast pace of the big cities (see fig. 1).



Figure 1. Stills from *Im Kampf mit dem Berge* (1921).

During Hindemith's stay at the villa, Fanck screened his new film, *Im Kampf mit dem Berge*, and recounts the composer's excited reaction: "What I do in pictures, he said, was indeed pure music—and [asked] if he could be allowed some time to convert this film into music."¹⁶

Fanck then recounts that over the next two weeks, Hindemith composed a chamber orchestra accompaniment to the sixty-minute film under the pseudonym Paul Merano.¹⁷ Hindemith was familiar with music played in popular movie houses, as he and his brother had often played in cinemas and taverns during their university days. In the early 1920s, however, original film scores were rare. Fanck even claims in his letters that he believed Hindemith's score to *Im Kampf mit dem Berge* was the first original film score ever to be composed.¹⁸

Since apparatuses to synchronize sound with film were not readily available in the early 1920s, orchestras did not bother to synchronize a score, but rather were accustomed to improvising or playing from cue sheets. Thus, several music directors rejected Hindemith's score because it was too difficult to match with the action on the screen. In fact, Hindemith's music was not played at the premiere of the film on 22 September 1921, at the large Tauentzienpalast in Berlin, which was owned by UFA, the film's distributor. The musical director at the Tauentzienpalast, Willy Schmidt-Genter, preferred to write his own music to *Im Kampf mit dem Berge*, which was then common practice. Other theaters followed suit, either having in-house music directors "illustrate" their own accompaniments to Fanck's film or borrowing the material that Schmidt-Genter had scored for the premiere. Though it was likely attempted at other houses, the only documented instance in which Hindemith's music was used was at the Dusseldorf premiere of the film.¹⁹ To highlight the widespread resistance to Hindemith's score, a completely new musical score was prepared by the well-known *Kinothek* author Giuseppe Becce when *Im Kampf mit dem Berge* was re-released in 1940.

Because of the music's malleable structure, Hindemith's score easily lent itself to being shortened, and several variants of the film exist. Hindemith's autograph manuscript to *Im Kampf mit dem Berge* was discovered in his estate shortly after he died in 1963. The manuscript was divided into six acts to correspond to the six reels of the film. The premiere lasted about seventy-five minutes.²⁰ Because the music in Hindemith's manuscript would have lasted eighty-seven minutes, Fanck probably had his film shortened just before the premiere in Berlin in 1921.

Lothar Prox discovered another manuscript of *Im Kampf mit dem Berge* in the Moscow film archive in the late 1980s. With the help of

the Deutsches Filmmuseum in Munich, Prox was able to procure the manuscript from Moscow and construct an edition based on these materials in 1988. However, there are discrepancies between the two manuscripts. Either Fanck or the film's production company, UFA, further drastically reduced his film in 1922 to fifty-four minutes and from six to four acts. This was done most likely in response to press reviews that complained of the film's length.²¹ Hindemith's score was also shortened to correspond to the film. This latter, significantly reduced version is the Moscow copy that Prox found, but as he points out, "The Moscow version is not a fragment. The plot is tightened and changed in a 'logical' manner, whereby it differs partially from the original version."²² This was aided by the inclusion of more intertitles, or printed portions of narration and dialogue flashed on the screen between the scenes of a silent film. The shortened Moscow score contains seventy-eight intertitles, though according to Prox, Hindemith's original score contains only fifty-eight. At first, it seems counterintuitive that a shorter score would contain more intertitles. But since significant footage was cut in making the shorter version of the film, more intertitles were probably needed to clarify the plot. In sum, there are at least three different versions of the film *Im Kampf mit dem Berge*, with three different variations of Hindemith's music. Each is perfectly coherent.

Hindemith was probably not involved in altering his original score. More likely, Fanck, UFA, or a music director who worked at one of UFA's several movie theaters made the alterations. Nevertheless, what is of interest here is that Hindemith's accompaniment to *Im Kampf mit dem Berge* lends itself to easy shortening or expansion. The instrumentation is quite flexible. Ideally, Hindemith's accompaniment is scored for the following: flute (doubling on piccolo), oboe, clarinet in B-flat, trumpet, trombone, two violins, cello, bass, piano, harmonium, timpani, and percussion. However, in order to make his score adaptable to multiple movie houses with their varying resources and orchestra sizes, Hindemith specifies that the score be reduced down to piano and one violin. In most parts of the score, several lines are doubled on various instruments, allowing for others to be easily omitted if necessary. In the instances where Hindemith writes a solo melody in one of the wind instruments, the line is cued in the violin or piano.

In writing about the ideal silent film accompaniment, Hindemith's contemporary, Kurt London, wrote:

The silent film did not require a close interpretation of *all* its separate scenes; what it required was the opposite, the *musical simplification of the mosaic of film images into one long line*. . . . The even flow of the music

must therefore, apart from certain exceptions based on dramatic considerations, not be interrupted.²³

Hindemith followed such a philosophy in writing the music to *Im Kampf mit dem Berge*; his flexible and fluid music did not detract from the images on the screen. He kept the musical themes fairly simple so that transitions were difficult to detect, and the themes could be easily and instantaneously modified for exact synchronization with the picture. Overall, the piece is fairly diatonic compared to the composer's other works; it is grounded in C minor, and for the most part, modulations are to closely related keys. The music is made up of modules of short themes that are largely of a regular periodic structure. Several themes are marked by dotted rhythms and are derived from the opening theme. This opening *maestoso* theme (ex. 1) signifies the impressive 4,530-meter (14,862 feet) mountain that appears at the beginning of the film.²⁴

The themes of *Im Kampf mit dem Berge* are linked by brief transitions of two to three measures. This practice of stringing themes together is not unlike compilation scores of the period, as previously discussed. However, unlike the compilation scores in which different themes were compiled and new transitions were written by the music director, the music to *Im Kampf mit dem Berge* flows seamlessly, since all of the material was written by Hindemith.

Hindemith made several designations in the score to synchronize individual scenes with individual music modules. Metronome tempos are designated above each musical module to match the timing of each module with the timing of the scene. Additionally, he notated the first words of each intertitle to correspond with particular modules. However, as tempos often shift in a live performance and the conductor could lose correspondence with the film, Hindemith made allowances to stretch or compress time. For the first act, he notes that the remaining part of the module lasts nineteen seconds, and the conductor should move on to the passacaglia if the music was not keeping up with the images on the screen. Hindemith also offers various solutions to extend the music. For example, at the end of a module in the second act, various repeats are suggested so that the film can "catch up" with the music. This vamping technique, borrowed from musical theater, works perfectly in silent film music.

Hindemith's experience with *Im Kampf mit dem Berge* introduced him firsthand to the problems of synchronizing music with moving pictures. His solution involved writing economical themes, closely related by key and melodic and rhythmic structure, and linking them with short transitions. Because of the simplicity of the themes, the conductor was

Maestoso (♩ = 69)

Kleine Flöte
ff

Oboe
ff

Klarinette in B
ff

Trompete in B
ff

Posaune
ff

Pauken
ff

Grosse Trommel
ff

Klavier
ff

Harmonium
ff

Violine I
ff

Violine obligat
ff

Violoncello
ff

Kontrabass
ff

Example 1. Reconstructed score of *Im Kampf mit dem Berge* by Lothar Prox, mm. 1–6.

able to easily lengthen, shorten, or omit certain passages as needed to correspond with the events on the screen and without interrupting the flow of the music.

Perhaps it was Hindemith's mechanical themes rather than "organic" post-Wagnerian music that deterred music directors from using his score to accompany this nature film. Either due to frustration from not initially hearing his music played with Fanck's film, or out of a sheer preference to write mechanical music, Hindemith wrote no film scores for live orchestra after *Im Kampf mit dem Berge*.²⁵ Regardless, this experience with *Im Kampf mit dem Berge* proved invaluable to Hindemith, because he used a similar method of writing dramatic music years later in *Hin und zurück*.

Cardillac (1926)

Conceived a few years before *Hin und zurück*, Hindemith's opera *Cardillac* shows conceptual connections to silent film. In the early 1920s, Hindemith had primarily made a name for himself in Germany by writing songs, piano pieces, and chamber music for music festivals. His string quartet, the Amar Quartet, maintained a presence at the Donaueschingen Festival, of which he became musical director in 1923. After completing the song cycle *Das Marienleben* in 1923, Hindemith became interested in writing a full-length opera. His previous dramatic works comprised a triptych of one-act operas, *Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen* (1921), *Das Nusch-Nuschi* (1921), and *Sancta Susanna* (1922), as well as two ballet-pantomimes, *Der Dämon* (1922) and *Triadisches Ballett* with Oskar Schlemmer (1926).²⁶ For his next undertaking, Hindemith was discriminating about a libretto. He rejected both a *Faust* scenario, which was to be written by Bertolt Brecht, and a modernized version of *The Beggar's Opera*, which Brecht and Weill would adapt instead in 1928 as *Die Dreigroschenoper*.²⁷

Cardillac, which premiered in Dresden on 9 November 1926, shows its indebtedness to silent film in its plot, music, and staging. The opera is a peculiar work in that it combines Romanticism (in the adapted plot), Expressionism (in the text and stage directions), and Neue Sachlichkeit (in the use of baroque and classical forms and its overt dissociation of the music from the text). Ferdinand Lion adapted E. T. A. Hoffmann's short story "Das Fräulein von Scuderi," but made the goldsmith Cardillac the main character, focusing on his obsession with his art as opposed to his aloof relationship with his daughter. The form of the opera, which is divided into three acts and eighteen closed numbers and uses traditional variation, passacaglia, ostinato, and

Baroque aria forms, owes much to a Handel revival in Germany during the 1920s. Expressionist poetic elements can be found in Lion's use of language, including his frequent omission of articles and invented word combinations such as *Freudleid* (joy/pain), *Mondfarben* (moon-colored), and *Nacht-versunken* (night-engulfed).²⁸ Moreover, he argues that some of the stage directions such as *Raubvogelhafte Flucht des Mörders* (murderer flees like a bird of prey), *aufgehender Mond* (the moon rises), and *weiter schwarzer Mantel* (wide black cape) produce "Caligari effects," referring of course to the silent film *Das Kabinett des Doktor Caligari* (1920).²⁹

Cardillac begins with a crowd disturbed over a series of recent murders. The goldsmith Cardillac then walks across the stage, completely unfazed. A Cavalier tells a prospective date about the goldsmith and his priceless jewelry. The Lady promises the Cavalier a tryst that evening if he can bring her Cardillac's most beautiful craftwork. The first act closes with a love scene between the Lady and the Cavalier, with the Cavalier delivering one of Cardillac's belts. At the end of the act, a masked figure steals into the bedroom and fatally stabs the Cavalier, taking off with the belt. In the second act, a suspicious Gold Merchant mentions to Cardillac the latest murder of someone who possessed a recent work of a goldsmith. Next, Cardillac meets the King and offers to make his greatest creation for him. The Officer then enters to ask Cardillac for his daughter's hand in marriage, to which he indifferently consents. However, the Officer realizes how much Cardillac values his creations over his own daughter, and buys a gold chain. After he has left, Cardillac indicates to the audience that he is the murderer as he sets off in pursuit of the officer for the missing chain. The third act begins in a tavern where the Officer wears the chain, setting himself up as Cardillac's next target. Cardillac enters and wounds the Officer, but the Officer fights him off and holds on to the chain. He advises Cardillac to flee. The Gold Merchant brings in a crowd and accuses Cardillac of being the murderer. Cardillac and his daughter are brought to the tavern. The Officer defends Cardillac and accuses the Gold Merchant of being an accomplice to the murderer. The crowd doubts these claims, and eventually Cardillac reveals that he alone is the murderer. The crowd lynches Cardillac, but before he dies, he reaches out for the chain around the Officer's neck instead of for his daughter.

Cardillac's plot shares several features with German Expressionist silent films of the era, which dealt with dark, often psychoanalytical themes of insanity, paranoia, crime, and deception. Ferdinand Lion was certainly familiar with Expressionist silent film, as he was concurrently working on a new opera with Eugen d'Albert, *Der Golem*, which

premiered in Frankfurt in 1926 only five days after *Cardillac*. As a matter of fact, Lion's libretto for *Cardillac* had been originally intended for d'Albert.³⁰ Though the two libretti do not contain many overt plot similarities, they both deal with themes of demons, obsession, and the enchantment and magic of jewels. *Der Golem* shares the title and plot with Robert Wegener's three Golem films, *Der Golem* (1915), *Der Golem und die Tänzerin* (1916), and the most famous of the three, *Der Golem, wie er in die Welt kam* (1920). In the sixteenth-century Jewish tale, which was the basis for these three films and the opera, Rabbi Loew brings the Golem, a clay statue, to life in order to save the Prague ghetto from persecution, but instead the demonic Golem revolts, wreaking havoc on the city. In the end, a small girl stops the Golem by removing from its chest the amulet that gave the Golem life.

Lion's libretto to *Cardillac* has plot similarities with *Das Kabinett des Doktor Caligari*, in which the story centers around the title character and his faithful somnambulist Cesare and their connection to a succession of murders in the fictional village of Holstenwall, Germany. The film begins with the narrator Francis and his friend Alan visiting a carnival in Holstenwall, where Dr. Caligari is displaying Cesare as an attraction. Caligari tells the men that Cesare can answer any question he is asked. When Alan asks Cesare how long he has to live, Cesare replies that Alan will die at dawn the following day. Cesare's prediction proves true. Francis and his girlfriend Jane take it upon themselves to investigate Caligari and Cesare. Caligari orders Cesare to kill Jane, but after being captivated by her beauty kidnaps her instead. After a chase through the town, Cesare drops Jane and collapses to his death. Meanwhile, Francis discovers that Caligari is also the head of a local insane asylum and, with the help of his colleagues, learns that he is trying to emulate the life of "Caligari," a northern Italian murderer of the seventeenth century who traveled with a somnambulist. After being confronted with the dead Cesare, Caligari confesses his obsession and is imprisoned in the asylum.

It is clear from his librettos to *Cardillac* and *Der Golem* that Lion drew upon both the demonic and obsessive themes and plots of contemporary silent films. However, more striking than the plot references are the dramaturgy and staging techniques that *Cardillac* borrows from early Expressionist silent films.

Several reviewers of *Cardillac* commented on the bizarre close of act 1, the love scene between a lady and her cavalier, which is completely devoid of singing. The sixth number, titled "Pantomime," is a fanciful duet for flutes that accompanies the couple's mutual seduction and the Cavalier's murder (ex. 2).³¹ In the 1920s, pantomime evoked

Ruhig bewegte Viertel. Sehr graziös (♩ etwa 84)

Fl. I *p*

Trgl. *pp*

Vc. mit Dämpfer, pizz. *p*

Kb. mit Dämpfer, pizz. *p*

8 *mp* *pp* solo *p*

A

Leise geht die Tür auf: der KAVALLIER kommt. Er sieht die DAME schlafend, schließt vorsichtig die Tür, wobei sie mit Dämpfer, pizz.

pp mit Dämpfer, pizz. *pp* *mp* *pp*

14 erwacht: Entzücken der beiden. Er will reden, sie, den Finger am Mund, gebietet Schweigen. Er nähert sich rasch. Nun spielt div. div. I. Solo

Example 2. Paul Hindemith, *Cardillac*, act 1, rehearsal no. 6, mm. 1–19. © 1925/1926 by Schott Music GmbH & Co. KG, Mainz, Germany. © Renewed. All Rights Reserved. Used by permission of European American Music Distributors Company, sole U.S. and Canadian agent for Schott Music GmbH & Co. KG, Mainz, Germany.

associations with silent film. Both genres featured music accompanying extended mimed scenes with exaggerated gestures and facial expressions. The sparsely accompanied, simple canonic melody of the flute duet recalls Hindemith's *Canonic Sonatina for Two Flutes* no. 3, op. 31 (1923), a piece of *Gebrauchsmusik* intended for amateurs.³² The abruptly shifting meter and pizzicato strings in the duet give an air of playfulness to the scene. The music does not climax, but rather the intensity is heightened with the addition of other wind instruments to the musical fabric as the lovers tear off their clothes and eventually lie on the bed. Lion's plot directions are carefully placed measure by measure, as if they were words to be sung. In the phrases "Sie schaut ihn erstaunt an, als ob sie frage: Ihr kommt zu dieser Nachtzeit? Welche Kühnheit!" (She looks at him amazed, as if she is asking him, "You are coming at this hour of the night? What nerve!"), and "Er scheint sich zu entschuldigen: 'Habt Ihr nicht selbst gewünscht . . .'" (He appears to apologize, asking "Did you not wish for this yourself?"), Lion solicits body language and facial gestures from the singers, instead of sung words, almost exactly as in silent film. Toward the end of the duet, the audience sees a masked figure draw closer and closer to the bed wielding a knife. The playful music does not change, but the audience sees the shadow of a figure that they assume is the murderer, growing closer to the bed in a steady visual rhythm. The murderer reveals himself to the couple, plunging a dagger into the cavalier's back just as he begins to make love to his lady. This is not unlike a scene in *Das Kabinett des Doktor Caligari*. As the renown German film scholar Siegfried Kracauer pointed out, Robert Wiene, *Caligari*'s director, uses shadows and light to intensify horror: "It is a lighting device which enables the spectators to watch the murder of Alan without seeing it; what they see, on the wall of the student's attic, is the shadow of Cesare stabbing that of Alan."³³

The voicelessness of the characters is reminiscent of silent film actors whose voices, in addition to the outlines of intertitles pasted between the scenes, are imagined in the lines of instrumental accompanists. One reviewer described this scene in *Cardillac* by placing the pantomime in the context of the rest of the opera:

When two people are on the stage, it sometimes happens that they sing in unison for a long time. Here in the orchestra two flutes indulge in a love scene for a long time, accompanied by stringed basses playing difficult etudes, until a few other winds come to the rescue. Is perhaps this two-part invention a duet?³⁴

As this reviewer sarcastically pointed out, orchestra takes over the "duet" that the Lady and the Cavalier would normally be singing. The

two flutes represent their entwining voices to the point where the audience does not miss the singing.

The critic Paul Stefan, in a review for *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, interpreted the entire opera as a pantomime:

Hindemith and his librettist Ferdinand Lion want no poetry, nor hardly the fate of an individual person; they want only formulas for music, that is to say, to transfer the words of the poetry to the pictorial realm. "Cardillac" is, in significant passages, almost a pantomime—and maybe the character of its human development gestures toward this emblem of human essence ultimately turning into an image. Stripped away from Hoffmann's novella are all the individual characteristics, everything that is more than a pantomimic outline, everything that is Romantic moralizing, content of any kind. A skit remains, a film subject with a strange deliberate bent, which highlights the cult of passion.³⁵

It is significant that Stefan refers to the whole opera as a pantomimic sketch. Indeed, the opera comprises several closed vocal numbers (arias, duets, choruses) but not much instrumental music without singing. In his review, Stefan concentrates on how the opera was different from its Wagnerian and post-Wagnerian forerunners. He lauds Hindemith's music for his use of "vorklassisch[e] Kunstübung[en]" (preclassical artistic exercises) and focus on form, comparing him to Weill, Ernst Krenek, and Philipp Jarnach.³⁶ In addition to Hindemith's music, what fascinated Stefan most was his choice of subject matter. That he used "pantomimic sketch" in the figurative sense as a synonym for silent films, the most widespread and accessible pantomimes of the 1920s, is given away in the final sentence, where he makes the analogy that the plot of the opera is like the subject of a film.

The sexual murder, psychotic and unemotional protagonist, and the crowd's eventual damning of Cardillac evoked associations with German Expressionist film plots. For example, the shadow of Cardillac inching closer and closer to the amorous couple evokes a *Caligari*, *Nosferatu*, or *Golem*.³⁷ Paradoxically, Hindemith's detached, 'etude-like' music heightened the horror. Rather than commenting directly on the action with passionate peaks and screams, the music gives a sense of overall coldness and intensity, yet manages to mimic the primary emotions of the main character. In this scene, Hindemith was able to create one of the finest examples of musical-dramatic irony in the operatic literature.

Like other composers associated with *Neue Sachlichkeit*, Hindemith became more interested in technology as the 1920s progressed. His next opera, *Hin und zurück*, not only has a topical,

nonliterary plot, but employs techniques of silent film scoring as well as references to the conventions of silent film music. Moreover, it was written in only two days as a simple compositional exercise intended for performance by other composers at the Baden-Baden Music Festival in 1927.

Mechanical Music and Film

In the 1920s, Hindemith became one of the directors of the Donaueschingen Musiktage. He was able to premiere his own works, while keeping abreast of issues in contemporary music. In addition, the festivals particularly emphasized new technology, such as film and radio, and its relationship to and impact on music. Beginning in 1921, composers flocked to the annual Kammermusiktage in Donaueschingen, a small town in the Black Forest. Still in existence today, the Donaueschingen Festival features new works by composers from all over the world. The intimate nature of the festival provided a breeding ground upon which musical ideas could be exchanged, and musical problems, such as the relationship between music and film, could be explored. After two years, Paul Hindemith became artistic director, soliciting for music submissions and programming the festival. He was aided by an artistic council, which included Richard Strauss, Hans Pfitzner, Franz Schreker, and Ferruccio Busoni; the latter two council members funneled their students from Berlin to the festival. Indeed, the festival often included a large percentage of German composers, but international composers including George Antheil, Darius Milhaud, Maurice Ravel, and Igor Stravinsky were also prominent participants.

In 1927, the administrators decided that the festival should be moved farther north to the larger spa-town of Baden-Baden, because Donaueschingen no longer had the resources to support the ever-growing festival.³⁸ At this time, the focus of the festival began to shift, largely at the urging of Hindemith, and composers were called upon to write specific works centered on different themes or dealing with particular “problems” of modern music. Below are summaries of the festival programs for these pivotal Baden-Baden years, as well as the last Donaueschingen Festival of the 1920s:

Donaueschingen 1926:

Madrigals

Mechanical instruments

Military music (music for wind instruments)

Baden-Baden 1927:

Original works for mechanical instruments
Stage works (short operas)
Music and Film

Baden-Baden 1928:

Film and Music
Chamber Opera

Baden-Baden 1929:

Original music for radio
Sound film music
Music for amateurs [*Liebhaber*]
School and amateur music

During the three years of the Neue Musiktage in Baden-Baden, film was a recurrent theme. In a 1928 interview printed in Baden-Baden newspapers, Paul Hindemith expressed the importance of further exploration into film music:

Up until recently, film music was still a concern of only a few film composers. Today there must be more; because basically, whether it is chamber music or film music: good music of any kind is good music—and bad music, bad.³⁹

With the rise of the film industry in Germany in the 1920s, there was an increasing demand for film accompaniments. Some composers viewed film music as lowbrow and the concern of local theater organists or incompetent composers only. But Hindemith, as an exponent of *Gebrauchsmusik*, or “music for use,” made it an explicit goal to write and solicit “good” film music that could be disseminated to the general public.

During the three years the festival was in Baden-Baden, the directors, in cooperation with the Gesellschaft für Filmmusik-Autoren Deutschlands, programmed a large quantity of film music.⁴⁰ During the 1927 festival, two original film accompaniments, Hanns Eisler’s “Music to a Film by Walter Ruttmann” and Paul Hindemith’s “Music for Mechanical Organ to the film Felix the Cat” were performed. There was also a presentation by Guido Bagier on the new “music chronometer,” which was developed by Carl Robert Blum for the express purpose of synchronizing film to music. The following year highlighted six film music accompaniments, divided into two programs. The first program

featured films with live chamber accompaniments by Darius Milhaud, Ernst Toch, Hugo Hermann, and Wolfgang Zeller. The second program, performed in the evening of the same day, contained another chamber orchestra accompaniment by Walter Gronostay, as well as a film by Werner Gräff and Hans Richter nicknamed *Vormittagsspuk*, to which Hindemith wrote a mechanical accompaniment for the Steinway-Welte player piano.⁴¹ The final year in Baden-Baden, 1929, highlighted seven sound film accompaniments premiered on the same night, during which Hindemith reprised his *Vormittagsspuk*.

Not only was film featured as an individual theme each year in Baden-Baden, but it was also tied to other genres composed for the festival. In particular, mechanical music maintained an interdependent relationship with film, as many pieces of mechanical music were written explicitly for specific films. Additionally, stage works, above all *Hin und zurück*, which was subtitled "Sketch," were becoming less like traditional operas and more like the popular comic film shorts of Buster Keaton and Charlie Chaplin.

Hindemith was devoted to promoting mechanical music over live music to accompany films. One of his first attempts at mechanical music was a new accompaniment for Oskar Schlemmer's *Triadisches Ballett*, a work that Juliet Koss has argued "operates like three reels of film."⁴² The original *Triadisches Ballett*, first performed in its entirety at the Bauhaus in 1922, was set to a potpourri of music by Mozart, Haydn, and Debussy. Hindemith later wrote an original accompaniment for mechanical organ and four tambourines for a shortened performance of the work at the 1926 Donaueschingen Festival. Schlemmer had admired Hindemith's music for years. In fact, he claimed that the sets and costumes of a performance of *Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen* and *Das Nusch-Nuschi*, which he saw in Stuttgart in 1921, greatly influenced the conception of *Triadisches Ballett*.⁴³ The modern, constructivist work consisted of three acts performed by two males and one female who dance jagged movements to reflect the shape of their doll-like geometric costumes. Schlemmer also considered the "fusion of dance, the costumes, and the music" to operate triadically.⁴⁴ Schlemmer found Hindemith's music the ideal solution to *Triadisches Ballett*:

The value of this ballet lies well within the musicality of the design. . . . It comes out of a lust for playing with forms, colors and materials. . . . Indeed Hindemith made music, whereas the figurines' movements had to be performed according to their newly created legitimacy. But the precision of music designed through mechanization offered a rare agreement with the figurines created out of formal precision.⁴⁵

Hindemith's music was only played once, as it was written for a special-order organ from Belgium that was only available at the festival. Unfortunately, the piano roll remains lost.

Despite the criticism from other composers and critics that mechanical music was emotionless, Hindemith always preferred to write film music for mechanical accompaniment in order to achieve maximum control over the synchronization of the pictures on the screen with the music: "It is particularly in the field of education that I have very high expectations for mechanical music, which always preserves the same quality of the playback and is not dependent on the chance of a good but poorly-chosen conductor."⁴⁶

Hindemith even believed that a composer should stamp his own piano rolls, not to maintain ultimate precision but because "the musical expression will stay truly preserved."⁴⁷ The advantages of synchronizing mechanical music to prerecorded film are clear. Devices that were designed to synthesize two prerecorded media, such as the one by the company M. Welte Söhne that Hindemith used with *Vormittagsspuk*, were fairly accurate, and playback of the music was always consistent. Furthermore, one did not have to depend on the abilities of musicians or conductors, nor have to pay these musicians for each performance. Hindemith also believed that there was an intrinsic relationship between film and mechanical music. In describing his compositions for the 1928 Baden-Baden Festival, his aesthetic is akin to Schlemmer's in his conception of *Triadisches Ballett*:

The exact adaptation of music to a film is only possible with an absolutely synchronous picture and music sequence. I have preferred to write music for a mechanical instrument, not only because an exact convergence can be achieved, but also because I firmly believe that a mechanically rolling sequence of frames belongs with mechanically reproduced music.⁴⁸

The connection between film and mechanical music at the festivals is clear in that several mechanical accompaniments were written to accompany specific films. Yet another, perhaps less apparent, connection exists between the festival's themes of "film" and "short operas." Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt links the two genres in his article "Short Operas" in a 1928 article in *Musikblätter des Anbruch*:

It is difficult for the contemporary listener to endure an opera longer than three hours. One has to know a considerable amount about the musical details of something like *Parsifal* or the *Rheingold* to be able to enjoy it without getting tired. Consider the kinds of art that have

achieved the greatest popularity today. . . . The revue is conspicuously favored—although, as a genre, it is not a product of recent times, it achieved its ultimate form in our day. And what are its formal characteristics? Change, a richness of plots, brevity of the crude genre of film! Here we have the distinct antithesis to Wagner's ideology. And it is precisely the concrete formulations of this antithesis that draw in the masses, fill the box-office coffers, and monopolize the world's attention.⁴⁹

Stuckenschmidt argues that rapidly changing plots and short scenes draw audiences from the long Wagnerian dramas to the popular music revues, which indeed share the dramatic pacing of contemporary film. He attributes this change in taste to the pacing of the modern world:

Our existence is split more and more into tiny and tinier units of time, painstakingly filled up and made to serve their assigned purpose. We no longer muster up the kind of concentration that our parents devoted to endless intellectual pleasures; we count not in years but in quarter hours. Tempo, tempo!⁵⁰

First, Stuckenschmidt compares film to the musical review. He then claims that because these popular genres are both made up of short units and are shorter overall that they are more appealing to modern audiences' shorter attention spans. After a brief recounting of the history of one-act operas, from Mascagni and Leoncavallo's one-acts of the late nineteenth century to Stravinsky's *L'Histoire du soldat*, he argues that attempts were made to transfer the devices of the revue into the area of opera. Composers were trying to write short operas more like the revue, and thus implicitly more like film. He then praises the Baden-Baden Festival of 1927 for recognizing the importance of composing these modern short operas in the future and "present[ing] an operatic epigram in the summer of 1927."⁵¹ Four short operas lasting under an hour premiered at the 1927 festival: Darius Milhaud's *Die Entführung der Europa* (L'Enlèvement d'Europe), Ernst Toch's *Die Prinzessin auf der Erbse*, and Kurt Weill and Bertolt Brecht's *Mahagonny-Songspiel*. Hindemith's own "sketch," *Hin und zurück*, lasts between twelve and fourteen minutes.⁵² All these short operas were more like films in their brevity, yet *Hin und zurück* was not only a short opera but an epigram symbolizing the process of writing film music itself.

Hin und zurück (1927)

In *Hin und zurück*, both the plot and the music run backwards a little more than halfway into the opera. This musical "sketch" with a text by

Marcellus Schiffer has consistently been referred to as a “cinematic” work, but with little discussion as to why it was perceived this way beyond its inherent palindromic structure.⁵³ Hindemith further employed filmic ideas in *Hin und zurück* that he acquired working with mechanical and film music. The plot is a melodramatic story of marital discord. Helene, who is having breakfast with her aunt, is surprised to have her husband, Robert, return home early from work. Robert gives Helene a present for her birthday. Suddenly, a postman knocks at the door and gives Helene a letter. After discovering that the letter is from Helene’s lover, Robert shoots her. A doctor and orderly remove the body and Robert jumps out the window. The stage grows dark, and the Sage appears from beneath the stage as a *deus ex machina*, to “reverse” the fate. Robert enters through the window, the body is brought back in, Helene rises, and the story then runs backwards so that the opera ends with Helene again having breakfast with her aunt. Throughout the entire opera, the aunt sits in an armchair, knitting. She is the symbol of constancy and a keeper of time. While the plot and music run backwards and forward, the garment in the aunt’s hands slowly grows longer, representing time’s steady passage.

The orchestration of *Hin und zurück* is similar to that of *Im Kampf mit dem Berge*. It is scored for a small chamber orchestra of flute, clarinet, saxophone, bassoon, trumpet, trombone, two pianos (one four-handed, one two-handed), and a harmonium behind the stage. Although it is notable that Hindemith chose more of a typical *Gebrauchsmusikband* setting for *Hin und zurück*, omitting strings and substituting the saxophone for the oboe, more striking is the abundance of keyboard writing. The inclusion of two pianos and a harmonium most certainly point to Hindemith’s conception of evoking a cinema atmosphere, as piano and theater organ were the instruments of choice in everyday silent film accompaniment.

Images playing forward and immediately rewinding was a common trope in both Dada and Surrealist films of the 1920s. To my knowledge, however, there is no incidence of a film playing out in its entirety and then reversing in its entirety, nor is there an instance of film accompaniment running backwards to accompany the rewinding images. *Hin und zurück* incorporates the principle of retrograde at the level of overall structure by means of reversing sentences of dialogue (but not individual words), phrases of music (but not individual rhythms or pitches), and tonal areas, forming a palindrome around the axis of what can be referred to as the “Sage’s Monologue.” For example, the opening words of the opera, *Guten Morgen, liebe Tante*

(Good morning, dearest auntie) come last in the opera in the same order, rather than a retrograde of words “Tante liebe, Morgen guten” or “etnaT ebeil, negroM netug.” If exact palindromes were replicated, the sense of the language and plot would be lost. It is possible that one could deduce the meaning of nonsensical backwards speech from the characters’ actions, but Hindemith elected to keep the syntax at a phrase level intact. Instead, paralleling the gestures on the stage, the phrases are read in correct German syntax but in backwards order to the way they were first presented:

First scene:	Final scene:
Guten Morgen, liebe Tante.	Ich werde Dir etwas Gesellschaft leisten.
Wie geht es Dir?	Wie geht es Dir?
Ich werde Dir etwas	Guten Morgen, liebe Tante.
Gesellschaft leisten.	

Whereas the sentences make sense on a phrase-by-phrase level, the reversed dialogues do not make sense. The sentences line up with the reversed stage gestures, such as characters walking backwards through doors, a bullet traveling from its target to a gun, and Helene coming back to life. Thus, the matching of the reversed dialogues with the reversed gestures brings a sort of comprehensibility to the plot.

Much like literally reversing the language on the scale of letters or words, a literal palindrome of the music at the chord or note level would have ramifications for the quasi-tonal musical vocabulary. A few years later, Alban Berg composed an exact palindrome for the movie sequence in his opera *Lulu* (1929–34). Since *Lulu* was a twelve-tone opera, not dependent on tonal hierarchies, Berg was able to replicate an exact palindrome at the pitch-class level, without a breakdown of logical musical language.⁵⁴

However, this was not possible for Hindemith in this instance. As in most of his works, Hindemith’s musical language in *Hin und zurück* is tonally centered without being diatonic. The piece is based around A, the key in which the overture begins.

Tonal scheme, *Hin und zurück*:

A	E	A-flat	E	G-sharp
Prelude	Terzett I	(Sage’s Monologue)—Terzett II		Prelude II

The musical numbers in *Hin und zurück* also form a palindrome.⁵⁵ Hindemith divides the opera into baroque-like short numbers: Prelude, Ariette, Duett, Terzett, and their recapitulations after the Sage's Monologue. The Monologue appears at the end of the first Terzett, the climax of the opera, where it is announced that Robert's actions will be reversed. The addition of singers—the orchestra prelude, followed by Helene's solo Ariette, Helene and Robert's Duett, and the first Terzett of Robert, the Doctor, and the Orderly—builds dramatic tension to the climax. The drama is further heightened at the end of the duet with the gradual move from A to the fifth above (E). While Robert sings in sighing appoggiaturas of his remorse and the Doctor that he cannot revive Helene, the harmony moves through chromatic descending third progressions, arriving in the distant key area of A-flat, the key of the Sage's Monologue. The second Terzett then returns to E, and though one might expect to return back to A in the final prelude, the music ends in the key area of G-sharp, that of the leading tone. Thus, the ending key area of the piece refers to the beginning key of A without sounding it. Instead of forming a satisfying dramatic circle back to the tonic, the resolution is more of a dramatic spiral. This perhaps signifies that people's actions can never completely be undone, no matter how hard they strive to reverse them. Also, the ending in the G-sharp key area is an enharmonic equivalent of A-flat, the key of the Sage's Monologue, evoking once again the cause of this reversed ending (ex. 3).

Hindemith chose not to create an exact phrase-for-phrase musical palindrome. He condensed both the text and the music in the second half of *Hin und zurück* after the Sage's Monologue. Once again, the choice to shorten the second half of the piece evokes the analogy of the film projector: The projected film always rewinds more quickly than it plays forward. The main way in which Hindemith is able to keep the appearance of "rewinding" in *Hin und zurück* without losing the musical coherence is by taking phrase sections initially presented in the *Hin* section and repeating them in a reversed order in the *Zurück* section, either as exact replicas of the original phrases or slightly altered versions. Hindemith usually replicates both the vocal and instrumental parts in the *Zurück* section, though instrumental parts, largely for harmonic and foreshortened reasons, are more often altered. Repeated phrases are largely taken away in the second half of the opera. For example, Robert asks, "Von wem ist der Brief?" (From whom is the letter?) twice in the first Duett and only once in the second. Because there are fewer phrases, there is less music.

29 *gva*

dim. mf

(8) p pp ppp sub. ff Vohang

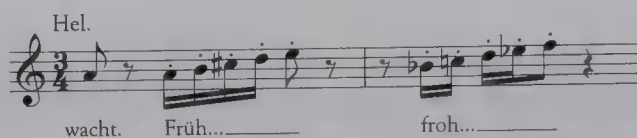
Example 3. Paul Hindemith, *Hin und zurück*, mm. 395–401 (end). © 1927 by Schott Music GmbH & Co. KG, Mainz, Germany. © Renewed. All Rights Reserved. Used by permission of European American Music Distributors Company, sole U.S. and Canadian agent for Schott Music GmbH & Co. KG, Mainz, Germany.

The following table shows the lengths and correspondences of each musical section in the two sections:

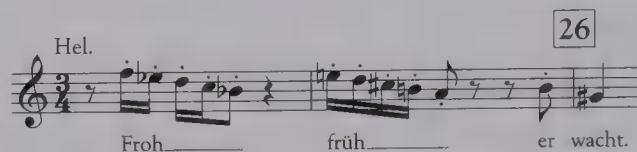
Section	<i>Hin</i>	<i>Zurück</i>
Vorspiel	mm. 1–70 (70 bars)	mm. 388–401 (13 bars)
Auntie’s sneeze	m. 57	m. 390
Introduction and Ariette	mm. 71–108 (36 bars)	mm. 355–87 (31 bars)
Duett	mm. 109–205 (96 bars)	mm. 275–354 (79 bars)
Terzett	mm. 206–30 (24 bars)	mm. 262–74 (14 bars)
Monologue (pivot) + Coda	mm. 231–57 (26 bars)	mm. (258–67) (9 bars)

In addition to the formal numbers and the Sage’s Monologue, Hindemith writes two “introduction” sections before and after the Ariette in which Helene enters and leaves while singing to her aunt. Additionally, the Monologue contains a nine-bar coda as a transition back to the second Terzett. Hindemith also adds “bookends” to the opera through Auntie’s sneezes, the only utterances she makes in the entire opera.

Hindemith’s alterations between the *Hin* and the *Zurück* halves are not always dictated by harmonic requirements. Consider the pair of measures in Helene’s ariettes (exx. 4 and 5):



Example 4. *Hin und zurück*, mm. 104–5. © 1927 by Schott Music GmbH & Co. KG, Mainz, Germany. © Renewed. All Rights Reserved. Used by permission of European American Music Distributors Company, sole U.S. and Canadian agent for Schott Music GmbH & Co. KG, Mainz, Germany.



Example 5. *Hin und zurück*, mm. 357–58. © 1927 by Schott Music GmbH & Co. KG, Mainz, Germany. © Renewed. All Rights Reserved. Used by permission of European American Music Distributors Company, sole U.S. and Canadian agent for Schott Music GmbH & Co. KG, Mainz, Germany.

These two runs provide Hindemith with an opportunity to present a retrograde at the pitch level. Helene has repeated the words “Froh” and “Früh” several times, and in both instances, the sparsely accompanied line is moving toward the key of A-flat and requires no alteration for harmonic reasons. This is what one would hear if Hindemith were to wind the pianola roll backwards on one of the mechanical music accompaniments that he was working on while he composed the opera.

The Terzett, lasting twenty-four measures in the *Hin* section and fourteen measures in the *Zurück* section, is an example of the technique Hindemith uses to “reverse” the opera. Hindemith brings back virtually all the material from the Terzett of the *Hin* section to the Terzett of the *Zurück* section, but compresses it and presents it in the reverse order. The first nine introductory measures of the first Terzett are compressed to form the last six bars of the second Terzett. The vocal line in the first Terzett is made up of a succession of descending appoggiaturas, followed by a rising canonic phrase, followed by another succession of descending appoggiaturas. The same notes, set to the text in both parts, are brought back in reverse order. Yet, along with the repetition of words in the text, the music is compressed in the second Terzett, as Hindemith omits one of the phrases of descending appoggiaturas.

For the most part, Hindemith keeps the same vocal line and accompaniment within phrases, but often varies it when moving from one phrase group to another. For instance, the accompaniment to measure 264 is new, rather than recapitulated from the previous Terzett. Hindemith needs to find a new way to move from the canonic section

Rob. Zahn, der Reu-e Zahn. Es bohrt der Wurm, es bohrt der

Prof. mehr, mir scheint, man braucht mich nicht mehr. Mir scheint, mir scheint, man

Krankenw. Pan-to-pon, Bro-mu-ral, Tri-ge-mim,

Example 6. *Hin und zurück*, mm. 219–22. © 1927 by Schott Music GmbH & Co. KG, Mainz, Germany. © Renewed. All Rights Reserved. Used by permission of European American Music Distributors Company, sole U.S. and Canadian agent for Schott Music GmbH & Co. KG, Mainz, Germany.

Rob. *mf* Es bohrt der Wurm sich der Ver-gel-tung in mein Ge-

Prof. *mf* Mir scheint, mir scheint, man braucht mich, mir scheint, man

Krankenw. *mf* As-pi-rin, Tri-ge-mim, Bro-mu-ral, Pan-to-pon,

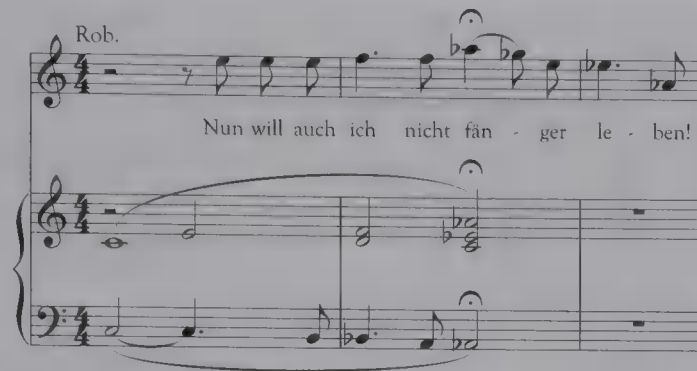
Example 7. *Hin und zurück*, mm. 262–65. © 1927 by Schott Music GmbH & Co. KG, Mainz, Germany. © Renewed. All Rights Reserved. Used by permission of European American Music Distributors Company, sole U.S. and Canadian agent for Schott Music GmbH & Co. KG, Mainz, Germany.

to the appoggiatura section (exx. 6 and 7). This technique of adding new material to bridge to shorter phrases is similar to the task of the film music arranger, who must bridge two musical themes that depict two separate scenes through an improvised or composed modulation, tremolo, or other transition.

The instrumentation, the rewinding film projector analogy, and the recomposition of short themes in *Hin und zurück* show Hindemith's appreciation of silent film. I would like to consider now a less obvious example, the Sage's Monologue, which is not a loose palindrome like the other sections of the opera. Rather, the recitative-like vocal line is accompanied by a couple of recurring short scalar motives on a solo harmonium. The only exact repetition in the music occurs in mm. 236–38 and mm. 253–55. Yet, in the same fashion that Auntie's sneezes bookend the opera, the proclamation in which Robert repeats "Nun will auch ich nicht länger leben!" (Now I don't want to live longer either!) bookends the monologue. The first is heard at the end of the first Terzett (ex. 8). However, the second occurs at the end of the monologue with newly composed music, which transitions to the second Terzett (ex. 9). Though the pitches of each proclamation are not exact, they sound similar, having the same rhythm and rising to a high A-flat on *länger* (longer) both times.

At first, this musical alteration may seem arbitrary, but Hindemith alters this phrase for dramatic effect in order to separate the Sage's Monologue, in which fate is reversed, from the dramatic action. In the first example, the stage darkens after Robert's sentence, and there is a complete break between the end of the first Terzett and the beginning of the Sage's Monologue. At this point, the audience does not know what will happen next. However, the second utterance occurs after another break and the stage grows light (measure 257). Robert's second utterance leads into the second Terzett with the ascending chromatic scale, after the audience has learned that the Sage has reversed Robert's fate. In sum, the slight musical alteration actually enhances the feeling of rewinding. The action slows down at the end of the first half of the opera, and there is a complete stop in the action. The Sage then intervenes and the action is quickly reversed. Returning to the film projector analogy, when a film is over, it slows down, the projectionist then must press a button and the film quickly rewinds.

Of even greater interest in the Sage's Monologue, however, are two recurring motives that resemble a silent film trope of the time. At the beginning of 1927, film score composers Hans Erdmann, Giuseppe Becce, and Ludwig Brav published the *Allgemeines Handbuch der Filmmusik* in two volumes.⁵⁶ Intended as a practical guide for cinema accompanists,



Example 8. *Hin und zurück*, mm. 228–30. © 1927 by Schott Music GmbH & Co. KG, Mainz, Germany. © Renewed. All Rights Reserved. Used by permission of European American Music Distributors Company, sole U.S. and Canadian agent for Schott Music GmbH & Co. KG, Mainz, Germany.

Example 9. Excerpts from “Sage’s Monologue,” *Hin und zurück*, mm. 258–59. © 1927 by Schott Music GmbH & Co. KG, Mainz, Germany. © Renewed. All Rights Reserved. Used by permission of European American Music Distributors Company, sole U.S. and Canadian agent for Schott Music GmbH & Co. KG, Mainz, Germany.

the first volume of this *Kinothek* explains the philosophy and practice of film accompaniment, and the second volume contains over 3,050 musical themes, classified according to moods and dramatic situations. Figure 2 shows a page from the *Allgemeines Handbuch der Filmmusik*.

These themes are mainly made up of opera and orchestral incipits from the operatic and symphonic repertoire of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, along with some original themes by Erdmann, Becce, and Brav themselves. Under the group “Mysterioso,” the authors present the theme for Incipit #91, “Mystery, miracle, priestly plot” (ex. 10).⁵⁷

The two motives Hindemith uses when the Sage “mysteriously” appears as a *deus ex machina* during the Monologue, resemble material from Becce, Erdmann, and Brav’s Incipit #91, particularly the last two measures (ex. 11A and B).

DR

78

Rubinstein 1, Dámon (Bullerian)
Teil I, S. 1
Moderato.
Mod. Schlusss. → S. 6, Ziff. 6.

79

Sibelius 14, Valse triée S. 5
Stratto.
Je 2 Takte

80

Bece 3, Kinethek III, 33 (3)
Largo.
1018
1034

81

Bece 3, Kinethek III, 42 (12)
Andante calmo.

82

Bolto 2, Mephistopheles (Tavan) S. 14
Lentissimo.
Jeder Takt

83

Bolto 2, Mephistopheles (Tavan) S. 22
Lento. Contabile.
Verschiedenste Möglichkeiten.

84

Dukas, Zaubrerlehrling, S. 1
Ass. Int. (Vif) I. Mouvement (Vif.)
Assez lent.
S. 2, Z. 1 → S. 20.

85

Erdmann 1, Fant. romant. Suite I C
Molto moderato.
Ziff. 3 → Ziff. 10. — Ziff. 9 u. 15 vgl.
Nr. 539a. — Ziff. 2 vgl. Nr. 158. — Anfang
vgl. Nr. 86 u. Nr. 539a.

86

Erdmann 2, Fant. romant. Suite II A
Molto moderato.
J. u. Schl. 1. T. vor Ziff. 1. — Vgl. Nr. 85
u. Nr. 539a.

87

Rildayl 5, Capit. Photopl. Ser. Nr. 17
Molto moderato.

88

Maassenet 17, Esclarmonde Suite
Nr. 2
Andante moderato assai.

89

Moussorgski 6, Bild ein. Ausstellg.
Nr. 3b
Andante non troppo con lamento.

90

Rubinstein 10, Verlorene Paradies
(Bullerian) S. 2
Moderato.
Schl. Ziff. 2.

91

Thiele 1, Aegypt. Suite Nr. 3.
Traumhaft, visionär.

92

Zandonai 4, Melenis (Tavan) S. 18
Maestoso = solenne. Calmo.

SPANNUNG-MYSTIK

Unheimliches Agitato.

Unheimliche Stimmung.

Spukhaft.

Zauber. Vision.

Im Zaubergarten.

Zauber der Dämmerung.
Fantastisch-romantisch.

Weihe-oder geheimnisvolles
Ereignis (Tod).

Beschwörungsformel.
Geheimnisvoll. Nächtliche
Stimmung.

Zauberformel. Mystisches
Geschehen.

Spukhaft. Unheimlich. Fan-
tastisch.

Zauberhaft.

Zauberhafte Natur. (Mär-
chen).

Zauber.

Mysterium des Todes. Visionen.

Weihevoll. Mysterium.

Mysterium. Wunder. Prie-
sterliche Handlung.

Wunder. Feierliche Prie-
sterhandlung.

dst

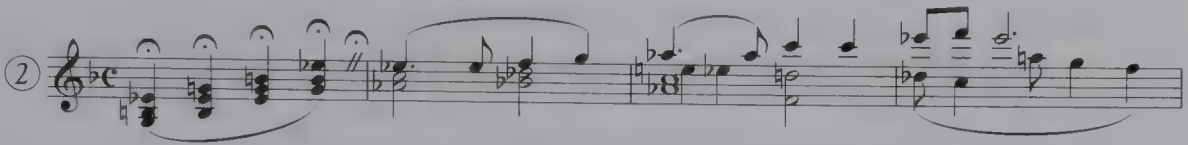
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78 - 92

Figure 2. Page 7 from Erdmann, Becce, and Brav, *Allgemeines Handbuch der Filmmusik*, vol. 2 (1927).

The first motive (a) is based on a similar progression based on an A-flat major triad unfolding from a succession of suspensions similar to the third bar of Incipit #91. Although the second motive (b) comprises different pitch classes, it maintains the same general counterpoint of scalar fragments moving in contrary motion as in the third and fourth measures of Incipit #91. At first glance, this similarity could just be

Mysterium. Wunder. Priesterliche Handlung.



Example 10. Becce, Erdmann, und Brav, Incipit #91.



Example 11. *Hin und zurück*, "Sage's Monologue." © 1927 by Schott Music GmbH & Co. KG, Mainz, Germany. © Renewed. All Rights Reserved. Used by permission of European American Music Distributors Company, sole U.S. and Canadian agent for Schott Music GmbH & Co. KG, Mainz, Germany.

viewed as a coincidence, but a second example from the Duetts of *Hin und zurück* suggests otherwise.

In the second half of the Duett in *Hin und zurück*, Robert discovers Helene's letter. Robert becomes agitated, repeatedly questioning Helene about the identity of the letter's sender. Helene unsuccessfully denies that she has a lover, and trembles at the sight of Robert's gun.

This Duett theme (ex. 12), the basis for a quasi-fugal, mechanical texture, resembles another example in the *Allgemeines Handbuch der Filmmusik*, Incipit #272 (ex. 13), which is filed under the category "Erregung. Unruhe. Angst" (Agitation. Trouble. Fear).⁵⁸

Although Hindemith's theme moves more quickly than Becce's (in Hindemith's a quarter note = 186 in 2/4 time, whereas in Becce's a quarter note = 160 in 4/4 time), both themes have the same melodic

Sehr lebhaft (♩ = 186)

Hel. *mf* Ge - ben Sie her!

Rob. *mf* Was ver - steckst Du

Sehr lebhaft (♩ = 186)

6

Ei - nen Brief. Nun, ganz

da? Was ist das für ein Brief?

Example 12. Duett I, *Hin und zurück*, mm. 109–18. © 1927 by Schott Music GmbH & Co. KG, Mainz, Germany. © Renewed. All Rights Reserved. Used by permission of European American Music Distributors Company, sole U.S. and Canadian agent for Schott Music GmbH & Co. KG, Mainz, Germany.

♩ = 160

p *sf*

Example 13. Becce, Erdmann, und Brav, Incipit #272.

contour. Like Becce's incipit, Hindemith's theme is an ascending scalar subject that ascends to a minor seventh, though the fourth and fifth notes of the scale are reversed, and then chromatically descends a fourth. Robert's vocal line then begins this melody three measures later,

a whole step higher. This bears a resemblance to Becce's theme, though it immediately repeats a fourth higher. Additionally, accents in the accompaniment of both examples are placed prominently on the offbeats.

I do not want to contend that Hindemith consulted Erdmann, Becce, and Brav's handbook while writing *Hin und zurück*. Rather, my argument is simply that there was a network of familiar silent film tropes during this period of which he would have been aware. Erdmann, Becce, and Brav compiled popular film tropes that film accompanists were already using in cinemas. Film-going audiences of this period would have recognized tropes used in *Hin und zurück* that would be lost on a modern audience today. Thus, the wit of *Hin und zurück*'s connections to film again goes beyond the simple reversal of plot on the stage.

Conclusion

During the Weimar Republic, opera demanded reinvention and reinvigoration to compete with film. As the critic Heinrich Strobel observed, "The opera theater as a society-representative business is closing itself off more and more from life. The new works are becoming more and more isolated in the season. Film and sport interest the unspoiled masses, above all the young."⁵⁹

By the mid-1920s, both with his two operas and with contemporary instrumental music and songs, Hindemith had turned away from the naturalism, Romanticism, and Expressionism of the long nineteenth century, and turned instead toward writing *Gebrauchsmusik*, which could benefit a wider audience. No other visual medium could reach as many as film, which Hindemith successfully drew upon in *Cardillac* and *Hin und zurück*. During the 1926–27 season, *Cardillac* was the most performed new opera in Germany with sixty-eight performances in sixteen different opera houses.⁶⁰ For a short one-act opera first performed for an audience of composers at a music festival, *Hin und zurück* was comparatively successful as well, with thirty-eight performances in ten opera houses in 1927–28.⁶¹

Both *Cardillac* and *Hin und zurück* are situated in the Neue Sachlichkeit aesthetic of the mid-1920s but draw on film, though in different ways. The plot of *Cardillac* shares many themes of the earlier Expressionist silent films. Its music is based on older musical forms rather than the emotions of the singers. *Hin und zurück*, on the other hand, possesses the simple and satirical plot of an American short film. Its musical structure is inherently different from previous operatic compositional processes in which composers would write music in fixed

numbers corresponding to traditional forms, or they would construct a through-composed music drama based on a network of leitmotifs. The music of *Hin und zurück* is quintessentially “filmic,” not only for attempting to emulate the visual aspect of a film rewinding, but also for its piecemeal musical structure.

The music to *Hin und zurück* comprises tiny units of musical time, which Hindemith strings together in a line to the climax, after which he strings them back in reverse order. The long line of musical units is only interrupted when a supernatural event occurs that demands different music. This is the compromise of the film composer: the balance between creating a flowing line of unobtrusive, strung-together themes, while depicting climactic events in the film musically. Hindemith himself was a composer who looked backwards and forward. He thrived on the neo-Baroque, witty compositional games one could play with form and counterpoint, from *Sancta Susanna* to *Ludis Tonalis*. He wrote mechanical music for films as well as the geometric doll-like figures of Schlemmer’s *Triadisches Ballett*. The new process of writing film music, with its reliance on mechanical accompaniments, the cutting and splicing of musical phrases, and dependence upon synchronization instruments, was attractive to the composer for the same reasons. Regardless of whether film influenced Hindemith or Hindemith was drawn to film music for its creative and functional possibilities, one thing remains clear: Hindemith was writing opera in a new way.

Hin und zurück was composed in a musical form that was inorganic, mechanistic, not Romantic, and, one might even argue, intentionally unmusical. The twelve-minute opera played with human perceptions of space and time with its reversal of images on the stage and with the mechanical, through seemingly logical cuttings in the music. It was a modern drama born out of the cinematic imagination.

Notes

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1. The above quote is from Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968), 235–37.
2. "Habe als Geiger, Bratscher, Klavierspieler oder Schlagzeuger folgende musikalische Gebiete ausgiebig 'beackert': Kammermusik aller Art, Kino, Kaffeehaus, Tanzmusik, Operette, Jazz-Band, Militärmusik." Paul Hindemith, "Autobiographische Skizze," *Neue Musik-Zeitung* 43, no. 20 (July 1922): 329.
3. Upon returning from military service, Hindemith switched to viola in the Rebner Quartet and preferred to play the viola in public over the violin thenceforth.
4. Even through the 1920s, Hindemith continued to perform. In addition to playing viola with the Amar Quartet, Hindemith played the solo violin part at the German premiere of Stravinsky's *L'Histoire du soldat* in 1923 and premiered William Walton's Viola Concerto in 1929.
5. Gieselher Schubert briefly mentions Hindemith's early attraction to film in "Zur Konzeption der Musik in Hindemiths Oper *Cardillac*," *Hindemith-Jahrbuch/Annales Hindemith* 17 (1988): 116.
6. Hindemith kept a diary only for the year 1918, when he was in the military stationed in Alsace and Flanders.
7. "Morgens eifrige Quartettprobe. Nachmittags spielen wir wieder beim Grafen, der den Etappenkommandanten eingeladen hat. Wunderbares Musizieren vor zwei aufmerksamen Zuhörern. Heute ist wieder gut gespielt worden. Abends mit Philipp aus Langweile im Kino gelangweilt." Paul Hindemith, "Notizen zu meinen Feldzugs-Erinnerungen," ed. Sylvie Gregg and Giselher Schubert, *Hindemith-Jahrbuch/Annales Hindemith* 18 (1989): 75.
8. "Ein Kind auf der Strasse nimmt uns mit zu seinen Eltern, den zuvorkommensten Leuten, die man sich denken kann. Trotzdem die denkbar größte Armut im Hause herrscht, sind die Menschen von einer ans Märchenhafte grenzenden Fürsorglichkeit. Jeder Wunsch, den sie uns an den Augen ablesen können, wird, noch unausgesprochen, erfüllt. Besser kann man nirgends aufgehoben sein. Abends laden wir die vorhandenen Töchter ein, mit uns in den Kino zu gehen." Hindemith, "Notizen zu meinen Feldzugs-Erinnerungen," 154.
9. "Lange geschlafen. Mittags Konzert vor dem Rathaus. . . . Abends wieder im Kino." Diary entry from Saturday, 23 November 1918, while Hindemith was stationed in Düren. Hindemith, "Notizen zu meinen Feldzugs-Erinnerungen," 155.
10. Hindemith alludes to these dramas in a series of letters to the Weber family with whom he stayed during summer vacations in Switzerland from 1909 to 1914. In a letter dated 27 July 1913, Hindemith describes the opening of a new alcohol-free club at the conservatory, where Hindemith and his friends entertained one another. He describes their activities in the club, and invites the Weber family to attend. Based on Hindemith's humorous description and the date, this "drama with music" was very likely *Die Tragödie im Kino*: "Wir haben ein Drama mit Musik verbochen, welches wir nach Neujahr aufführen werden. Auch Sie sind herzlich dazu eingeladen. Bringen Sie aber bitte gleich Aspirin mit." (We have committed a crime with a new drama set to music, which we will perform after the New Year. You are of course welcome to attend,

but be sure to bring your aspirin with you.) Paul Hindemith and Dieter Rexroth, *Briefe* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1982), 32.

11. Friederike Beker, "Singspielhalle des Humors: Zu den dramatischen Meisterwerken Paul Hindemiths," *Hindemith-Jahrbuch/Annales Hindemith* 18 (1989): 43–46.

12. Hindemith's connection to the Black Forest and love of nature was demonstrated in his dedication to "all those who have experienced memories during a summer day in Todtmoos." The theme of people communing with nature in southwest Germany reappears in Hindemith's successive film work four years later, *Im Kampf mit dem Berge*.

13. Beker, "Singspielhalle des Humors," 49.

14. Siegfried Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film*, ed. Leonardo Quaresima, rev. ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), 110.

15. Other Fanck mountain films include *Wunder des Schneeschuhs* (1920), *Fuchsjagd im Engadin* (1923), *Der Berg des Schicksals* (1924), and *Der heilige Berg* (1927).

16. "Das war [sic] ich da im Bild mache, sei ja reine Musik—und ob er mir diesen Film einmal in Musik umsetzen dürfe." Dr. Arnold Fanck to Schott, 1 January 1954. Courtesy of the Hindemith Institut, Frankfurt.

17. Lothar Prox believes that Hindemith used a pseudonym in light of the recent scandal that erupted over the Stuttgart premieres of Hindemith's *Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen* and *Das Nusch-Nuschi*. Lothar Prox, "Anmerkungen zur Wiederentdeckung und Rekonstruktion von Film und Musik *Im Kampf mit dem Berge*," *Hindemith-Jahrbuch/Annales Hindemith* 19 (1990): 71.

18. Fanck to Schott, 1 January 1954.

19. Dozenten und Dozentinnen des Erlanger Musikinstituts, "Stummfilm Musiktage: *Im Kampf mit dem Berge*," http://www.stummfilmmusiktage.de/de/archive/movies/kampf_mit_dem_berge.php.

20. One can deduce this because the film reel was 1,536 meters long at sixteen frames per second. Prox further describes his reconstruction of the score in "Anmerkungen," 72.

21. Prox, "Anmerkungen," 72.

22. "Dennoch handelt es sich nicht um ein Fragment. Die Handlung ist auf 'logische' Weise gestrafft und verändert, wodurch sie teilweise erheblich von der Ursprungsversion abweicht." Prox, "Anmerkungen," 72.

23. Emphasis is London's own. Kurt London, *Film Music: A Summary of the Characteristic Features of Its History, Aesthetics, Technique, and Possible Developments* (London: Faber & Faber, 1936), 59–60.

24. This is implied in the subtitle in the Moscow score. Paul Hindemith, *Im Kampf mit dem Berge*, ed. Lothar Prox (Mainz, Germany: Schott Musik International GmbH & Co. KG, 2003), 2.

25. Stephen Hinton even goes so far as to claim that "in effect, [Hindemith] wished to see the end of the cinema orchestra." Hinton, "Aspects of Hindemith's Neue Sachlichkeit," *Hindemith-Jahrbuch/Annales Hindemith* 14 (1985): 59.

26. The scenario of *Der Dämon*, a tale of a demon's sexual dominance over two sisters, shares plot affinities with several recent Expressionist monster films of that time, such as *Der Golem* (1920), *Das Kabinett des Doktor Caligari* (1920), and *Nosferatu* (1922).
27. Geoffrey Skelton, *Paul Hindemith: The Man behind the Music. A Biography* (New York: Crescendo, 1975), 81.
28. Preface to Paul Hindemith, *Cardillac: Opera*, Op. 39 (1926), ed. Christoph Wolff (London: New York: Eulenburg, 1990), vi.
29. Hindemith, *Cardillac*, vi.
30. Skelton, *Paul Hindemith*, 81.
31. The final movement of Hindemith's *Tanzstücke für Klavier*, op. 19 (1919–20), the same year *Caligari* was premiered in Germany, was titled *Pantomime*. The second part of this movement is more of a duet between two hands with complementing scalar lines, similar to the flute duet in the *Pantomime* in *Cardillac*.
32. Hindemith completed *Acht Stücke* for solo flute, the second of his three flute works, a year later in 1927. Pieces 4, 5, and 8 contain many similar lines to those in the *Cardillac* flute duet.
33. Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler*, 75.
34. "Wenn zwei auf der Bühne sind, kommt es vor, daß sie lange Zeit unisono singen, während im Orchester [in einer] Liebesszene ergehen sich zwei Flöten lange Zeit mit Streicherbässen in schwierigen Studien für ihr Instrument, bis einige andere Bläser ihnen zu Hilfe kommen, ist vielleicht diese zweistimmige Invention ein Duett?" Walter Petzet, "Cardillac," *Signale für die musikalische Welt* 46, no. 84 (1926): 1650.
35. "Hindemith und sein Textgestalter Ferdinand Lion wollen keine Dichtung, kaum noch ein Einzelschicksal; sie wollen nur Schemen für Musik, übertragen die Worte der Dichtung gleichsam ins Bildhafte." *Cardillac* "ist an entscheidenden Stellen fast schon Pantomime—und vielleicht geht der Zug dieses Werdens dahin, daß aus dem Sinnbild menschlichen Wesens zuletzt bloß noch das Bild wird. Abgestreift sind von der Novelle Hoffmanns alle Einzelzüge, alles was mehr sein soll als pantomimischer Umriß, alles romantische Moralisieren, jeglicher Gehalt. Übrig bleibt ein Sketch, ein Filmsujet mit einer sonderbar gewollten Abbiegung, die den Kult der Leidenschaft emporträgt." Paul Stefan, "Cardillac," *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 8/9 (1926): 423.
36. Stefan, "Cardillac," 423.
37. F. W. Murnau's *Nosferatu, eine Symphonie des Grauens* (1921) loosely adapted Bram Stoker's *Dracula* into the story of the title character *Nosferatu*. A trilogy of movies, *Der Golem* (1915), *Der Golem und die Tänzerin* (1916), and *Der Golem: Wie er in die Welt kam* (1920), is based on Jewish legend about a clay creature, the Golem, that is brought to life to protect the people of Prague, but instead revolts.
38. In 1930, the festival took place in Berlin. After a hiatus due to the lack of funding after the financial depression, no festivals took place between 1931 and 1933. There were intermittent festivals in the 1930s and 1940s in Berlin, but the festival did not permanently returned to Donaueschingen until 1950. Neue Musiktage has taken place in Donaueschingen every year since then. Josef Häusler, *Spiegel der neuen Musik*,

Donaueschingen: Chronik, Tendenzen, Werkbesprechungen (Kassel, Germany: Metzler, 1996).

39. "Bis vor kurzem ist Filmmusik noch Sache einiger weniger Filmkomponisten gewesen. Heute muß sie mehr sein; denn es ist im Grunde ganz gleich, ob es sich um Kammermusik oder um Filmmusik handelt: gute Musik jeder Art, bleibt gute Musik—und schlechte Musik schlechte." "Gespräch mit Professor Paul Hindemith," *Baden-Baden Mittwoch-Morgenzeitung* and *Handelsblatt Baden-Baden*, 11 June 1928.

40. Although the programming of the festival was officially decided upon by a committee composed of Hindemith, Professor Joseph Haas, and the named music director Heinrich Burkhard, the artistic and programming decisions were largely left to Hindemith, most of the administrative and financial decisions were left to Burkhard. This is indicated in correspondence at the Stadtarchiv Baden.

41. The original title for *Vormittagsspuk* (Morning Haunt) was *Bewegte Gegenstände* (The Rebellion of Objects). The film has been preserved, but Hindemith's player piano accompaniment to *Vormittagsspuk* and other early mechanical music are unfortunately lost. This is most likely due to the fact that player piano accompaniments were generally only preserved on comparatively fragile pianola rolls because a score was not needed to instruct a performer.

42. Juliet Koss, "Bauhaus Theater of Human Dolls," *Art Bulletin* 85, no. 4 (December 2003): 737.

43. Oskar Schlemmer, "Ausblicke auf Bühnen und Tanz," *Melos* 6 (1927): 523.

44. Oskar Schlemmer, "The Mathematics of the Dance," *Vivos Voco* 5, nos. 8–9 (August–September 1926); also in Hans Wingler, *The Bauhaus*, trans. Wolfgang Japs and Basil Gilbert (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1969), 119.

45. "Der Wert dieses Balletts liegt wohl in der Musikalität der Formgestaltung, die . . . aus der Lust am Spiel mit Formern, Farben und Material entstand. Zwar musizierte Hindemith, während die Figurinen Aktionen gemäß ihrer neugeschaffenen Gesetzmäßigkeit vollziehen mußten. Aber die durch die Mechanisierung bestimmte Exaktheit der Musik ergab seine seltene Übereinstimmung mit den aus formaler Exaktheit geschaffenen Figurinen." Schlemmer, "Ausblicke auf Bühnen und Tanz," 523.

46. "Ich verspreche mir gerade hier unendlich viel von der Erziehung durch mechanische Musik, die stets die gleiche Qualität der Wiedergabe bewahrt und nicht von den Zufällen eines guten, aber schlecht gewählten Kapellmeisters abhängig ist." "Gespräch mit Professor Paul Hindemith."

47. "Hauptbedingung für eine gute mechanische Musik ist allerdings, daß die Rolle selbst von dem Komponisten gezeichnet wird—dann wird der musikalische Ausdruck wirklich bewahrt bleiben. Der Komponist muß also die Rolle selber zeichnen können, daß heißt, er muß in technischen Dingen vollkommen bewandert sein. Musikalische Einfälle allein genügen eben noch nicht, das Handwerkliche muß wirklich gekonnt sein. Und daß es so selten gekonnt wird, muß man so manchem Filmkomponisten zum Vorwurf machen." "Gespräch mit Professor Paul Hindemith." However, Darius Milhaud in his autobiography gives a conflicting account of his friend's writing of *Vormittagsspuk*: "Hindemith's concerts and classes took up so much of his time . . . that he was caught unprepared and right up to the last moment was feverishly composing his pieces for the

festival. I shall always see him scribbling furiously and passing each page as he finished to two of his students, who immediately transcribed it to a pianola roll. It was a score for an imaginative film by Richter called *Vormittagsspuk*." Milhaud, *Notes without Music: An Autobiography* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 205.

48. "Die genaue Anpassung der Musik an den Film ist nur möglich bei absolut synchronem Bild- und Musikablauf. Ich habe vorgezogen, die Musik für ein mechanisches Instrument zu schreiben, nicht nur, weil nur damit ein genaues Zusammenlaufen erreicht werden kann, sondern weil ich der festen Überzeugung bin, daß zu einer mechanisch abrollenden Bildfolge auch eine mechanisch zu reproduzierende Musik gehört." Paul Hindemith, "Zu unserer Vorführung 'Film und Musik,'" in *Program to Deutsche Kammermusik Baden-Baden 1928, 13–15 July 1928*, 26–28. Courtesy of the Hindemith Institut, Frankfurt.

49. "Dem heutigen Menschen fällt es schwer, länger als drei Stunden bei einer Oper auszuhalten. Man muß schon sehr viel von den musikalischen Details wissen, um etwa den 'Parsifal' oder das 'Rheingold' ohne Ermüdung genießen zu können. Betrachten wir die Kunstgattungen, die heute größte Popularität gewonnen haben. . . . Auffallend ist dagegen die zunehmende Favorisierung der Revue. Sie ist zwar als Gattung kein Produkt der jüngsten Zeit, hat jedoch ihre endgültige Fassung erst in unseren Tagen erhalten. Und was sind ihre formalen Zustände? Abwechslung, Fülle der Handlungen, Kürze der derben Kunstgattung: des Films. Hier haben wir also den klaren Gegensatz zu Wagners Ideologie. Und gerade die realen Formulationen dieses Gegensatzes sind es, die heute die Massen zu sich zwingen, die Kassen füllen, den Weltruhm gepachtet haben." H. H. Stuckenschmidt, "Short Operas," *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 10 (June–July 1928): 205.

50. "Unsere Existenz zersplittert sich mehr und mehr in kleine und kleinste Zeitabschnitte, die akribisch ausgefüllt und ihrem Zweck dienstbar gemacht werden. Wir bringen die Konzentration nicht mehr auf, die unsere Eltern noch an endlose geistige Genüsse wandten, wir rechnen nicht nach Jahren, sondern nach Viertelstunden. Tempo, Tempo!" Stuckenschmidt, "Short Operas," 204.

51. Stuckenschmidt, "Short Operas," 204.

52. Three more chamber operas were presented in 1928. Walter Gronostay's *In zehn Minuten* was a tribute to Hindemith, Weill, and Milhaud's short operas of the previous year.

53. David Neumeyer was one of the first to state that opera is influenced by silent film techniques, in *The Music of Paul Hindemith* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986), 168.

54. Berg likely attended the premiere of *Hin und zurück*, having had his *Lyrische Suite* for string quartet, which also contains a famous palindrome, receive its international premiere at the same festival one day earlier. (The *Suite*'s first performance was in Vienna in January 1927.)

55. I determine Hindemith's nondiatonic key centers by his strong cadences and pedal points. Though I use the language "tonic" and "dominant," I am not implying a strict diatonic structure, rather a loose hierarchical structure.

56. Hans Erdmann, Giuseppe Becce, and Ludwig Brav, *Allgemeines Handbuch der Filmmusik* (Berlin-Lichterfelde, Leipzig: Schlesinger 1927).

57. The excerpt is attributed to "Thiele, Aegypt Suite Nr. 3 *Traumhaft, visionär*." Carl Ludwig Thiele was a nineteenth-century German organist and composer. Erdmann, Becce, and Brav, *Allgemeines Handbuch der Filmmusik*, 2:7.
58. The theme is Becce's own and was first printed in his anthology *Kinothek III*, 36/6. It was reprinted in Becce and Erdmann's edition as Incipit #272.
59. "Das Operntheater schließt sich als gesellschaft-repräsentative Angelegenheit immer mehr vom Leben ab. Die neuen Werke stehen immer isolierter im Spielplan. Film und Sport interessieren die noch unverbildeten Massen, interessieren vor allem die Jugend." Heinrich Strobel, "Opernpublikum," *Melos* 7 (1928): 112.
60. Only Ernst Krenek's *Jonny spielt auf* came close to *Cardillac*'s success with twenty-six performances in Leipzig, Hamburg, and Prague in the 1927–28 season. See Wilhelm Altmann, "Opernstatistik 1927/28," *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 10 (1928): 424–31.
61. Altmann, "Opernstatistik 1927/28," 424–31.

Recitative in the Savoy Operas

James Brooks Kuykendall

In the early 1870s, London music publisher Boosey & Co. launched a new venture to widen its potential market. Boosey's repertoire had been domestic music for amateur vocalists and pianists: drawing-room ballads and both piano/vocal and solo piano scores across the range of standard operatic repertoire of the day, published always with a singing translation in English and often substituting Italian texts for works originally in French or German. Rossini, Donizetti, Bellini, and Verdi, Auber, Meyerbeer, Gounod, and Lecocq, Mozart, Beethoven, Weber, and Wagner all appeared in Boosey's Royal Edition of Operas series, together with a handful of "English" operas by Michael William Balfe and Julius Benedict. The new effort supplemented this domestic repertoire with one aimed at amateur theatricals: "Boosey & Co.'s Comic Operas and Musical Farces." The cartouche for this series is reproduced in figure 1, shown here on the title page of Arthur Sullivan's 1867 collaboration with Francis C. Burnand, *The Contrabandista*.

Seven works are listed as part of the new imprint, although three of these (Gounod, Lecocq, and Offenbach's *Grand Duchess*) had been issued as part of the Royal Edition. Albert Lortzing's 1837 *Zar und Zimmermann* masquerades as *Peter the Shipwright*, and it appeared with an English text only. The new series may well have been the idea of Sullivan himself. He had been retained by Boosey since the late 1860s as one of the general editors for the Royal Edition. *Cox and Box* and *The Contrabandista*, the new light entertainments he had written with Burnand, found a place (albeit somewhat contrived) among semi-respectable Continental neighbors.

Boosey's venture into light operatic entertainment was short-lived, but Sullivan's interest in developing a popular musical theater genre did not wane. Over the next twenty-five years, he collaborated with librettist W. S. Gilbert on fourteen works (listed in Table 1)¹ that represent a new hybrid genre clearly influenced by Continental models both low and high, but distinctly English and intentionally operatic.² There has never been any universal agreement on a convincing generic designation for



Figure 1. Arthur Sullivan, *The Contrabandista* (1867, lib. F. C. Burnand), vocal score front cover; Boosey & Co., c. 1870. Reproduced by permission of the Library of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

these works. They emerged in a milieu characterized by a wide variety of musical theater pieces aimed at a middle class ready to spend money on an evening's diversion, and to spend further to enjoy musical selections from the theater in the domestic sphere. Boosey's short-lived enterprise was eclipsed by the success of Chappell & Co., who from 1880 took

Table 1. Theatrical Collaborations of W. S. Gilbert and Arthur Sullivan

<i>Thespis</i> (Gaiety, 26 December 1871)
“an entirely Original Grotesque Opera, in Two Acts”
<i>Trial by Jury</i> (Royalty, 25 March 1875)
“a novel and entirley [sic] original Dramatic Cantata”
<i>The Sorcerer</i> (Opera Comique, 17 November 1877)
“an entirely New and Original Modern Comic Opera, in Two Acts”
<i>H.M.S. Pinafore</i> (Opera Comique, 25 May 1878)
“An Entirely Original Nautical Comic Opera, in Two Acts”
<i>The Pirates of Penzance</i>
“AN ENTIRELY NEW AND ORIGINAL OPERA” (Royal Bijou, Paignton, 30 December 1879)
“The New Melo-dramatic Opera, in Two Acts” (Fifth Avenue, New York, 31 December 1879)
“A New and Original Melo-Dramatic Opera, In Two Acts” (Opera Comique, 1880)
<i>Patience</i> (Opera Comique, 23 April 1881)
“An entirely New and Original Æsthetic Opera, in Two Acts”
<i>Iolanthe</i> (Savoy, 25 November 1882)
“FAIRY OPERA”
<i>Princess Ida</i> (Savoy, 5 January 1884)
“A respectful Operatic Perversion of TENNYSON’s ‘Princess,’ in a Prologue and Two Acts”
<i>The Mikado</i> (Savoy, 14 March 1885)
“An entirely original JAPANESE OPERA, IN TWO ACTS”
<i>Ruddygore</i> [subsequently <i>Ruddigore</i>] (Savoy, 22 January 1887)
“A New and Original SUPERNATURAL OPERA, IN TWO ACTS”
<i>The Yeomen of the Guard</i> (Savoy, 3 October 1888)
“A New and Original Opera, in Two Acts”
<i>The Gondoliers</i> (Savoy, 7 December 1889)
“An entirely Original Comic Opera, in Two Acts”
<i>Utopia Limited</i> (Savoy, 7 October 1893)
“An Original Comic Opera, in Two Acts”
<i>The Grand Duke</i> (Savoy, 7 May 1896)
“A NEW AND ORIGINAL COMIC OPERA”

In parenthesis, the venue and date of premiere are given. The generic description is given as on the premiere program.

over the publication of the collaborations between Gilbert and Sullivan, and the bulk of the theater pieces that imitated them (for example, Alfred Cellier’s long-running *Dorothy* [1886] and Edward German’s *Merrie England* [1903]).

The reviews of the original productions refer frequently to *extravaganza*, *burlesque*, and *comic opera*, but the most common descriptor is

simply *opera*.³ Although in the twentieth century, *operetta* became a frequent choice, it is quite rare in these reviews; when used, it tends to refer to the shorter “curtain raiser” or afterpiece that shared the bill with the main work, and occurs more in the general press than in musical periodicals. More useful, perhaps, is the hybrid genre suggested by the name of the first company formed to perform their works, the Comedy Opera Company (1877–81), suggesting something of the “tragical–comical–historical–pastoral” of the players in *Hamlet*. In fact, the generic description “comedy opera” appeared only in 1886 with Chappell’s publication of *Dorothy* and a few subsequent works that tried to exploit some of the formulas that characterized the Gilbert and Sullivan shows.⁴

In any case, that reviewers should routinely describe these works simply as operas was a matter of convenience rather than an evaluation of their artistic merit. Nonetheless, such usage caused some critics some unease, as is evident in a review of *The Sorcerer*:

If the reader has had patience to follow these remarks thus far, he will probably be disposed to ask whether it be meet that the English opera of the future should be founded upon such a farrago of nonsense as this. Burlesque and opera are not synonymous terms, and if it be conceded that the former has a legitimate place in art, it should not come before us sailing under false colours. . . . In certain scenes in the new “opera” we seem to be assisting at a children’s pantomime rather than at an entertainment intended for those of riper years. . . . *The Sorcerer* may suit the popular palate, and thus prove of benefit to its authors; but as a step towards the dawn of a brighter era for English opera it is worse than valueless.⁵

The reference to “false colours” must surely refer to Gilbert’s own billing of *The Sorcerer* as “an entirely New and Original Modern Comic Opera.”⁶ Table 1 includes the description of each of the works as found on the program for the opening night. As demonstrated there, *opera* (almost always with at least one qualifying adjective) is Gilbert’s default term. Precisely what he intended it to mean is not clear, but starting in 1877 with *The Sorcerer*, the most significant structural innovation is the marked increase in recitative, a feature that was absent from his earlier libretti. The use of recitative in these works has attracted very little attention, but its role throughout the canon of the Gilbert and Sullivan collaborations is not merely incidental. Recitative is essential to the style, as Gilbert considered it a peculiarly operatic mode of expression. This is particularly clear in his recitative prosody, which will be considered in detail during the course of this essay.

Savoy Opera as Genre

Taken as a whole, the fourteen Gilbert and Sullivan works do not evince anything like stylistic consistency. A generic label that fits well for one may be insufficient or absurd for another: *The Yeomen of the Guard* (1888) scarcely seems to have sprung from the same creative minds as *H.M.S. Pinafore* (1878). The uncertainty and disagreement over what these works were supposed to be, exactly, has descended to the present day even from their creators. Complicating the matter further, their own views evolved (and evolved differently) during their twenty-five-year partnership. Risking oversimplification, however, it seems that at the heart of the collaboration between Gilbert and Sullivan was a fundamental inconsistency (never articulated or understood fully by the partners themselves) about what makes a work operatic. As an opera composer, Sullivan was most concerned with the characters—that they be allowed to speak with genuine human expression, regardless of the comic situations in which they might find themselves. As a librettist, Gilbert regarded his responsibility to the composer as concerning mainly the mechanics of supplying the characters with the appropriate amount of material for the musical fleshing-out of the story (regardless of whatever absurdities he might want to place in their mouths). Both of these are legitimate concerns—and indeed one might argue that Mozart and Da Ponte had similar views of their respective roles, and a mutual understanding. The extant correspondence between Gilbert and Sullivan demonstrates, however, that they labored under a mutual *misunderstanding*. They spent decades talking past each other, each constantly feeling that he was the one making all the concessions, and striving to recapture his ground in whatever way possible. This proved to be a remarkably creative tension, even if neither partner was completely satisfied with the results.

Together, Gilbert and Sullivan emerged triumphant within a theatrical milieu remarkable for the crossing of genres: A work was categorized more easily by the theater in which it was produced than by any specific aspect of its substance. The Savoy Theatre was built specifically for Gilbert and Sullivan works, constructed by the third partner in their collaboration—the impresario Richard D'Oyly Carte.⁷ The works presented there soon became known as the Savoy Operas, although this can mean variously the Gilbert and Sullivan collaborations, including even the works produced before 1881, when the theater was constructed, and Burnand and Sullivan's 1867 *Cox and Box*, which Carte took into the Savoy repertory in 1894; or these pieces plus those by either Gilbert or Sullivan produced when the collaboration had

disintegrated (extending to Gilbert's *Fallen Fairies* in 1909); or all of these works plus others produced by Carte or his company before it relinquished its continuous hold on the Savoy Theatre in 1903; or even other works produced on the Savoy stage thereafter.⁸ In common usage "Savoy Opera" is merely an elegant synonym for the pieces of "G&S." These works are indeed the main focus of the present essay, but this is not because of their popular familiarity. Rather this focus is a consequence of the cultivation of recitative in the Gilbert and Sullivan collaborations to a degree not seen in the other works. This was largely the work of the librettist, who seems to have regarded it as his duty to accommodate his highly accomplished partner by aspiring to make the works operatic. (When working with other collaborators on quasi-operatic works, the amount of recitative in Gilbert's libretti is significantly reduced.)

"Savoy pieces" was indeed the phrase Sullivan himself used—with evident distaste—when in 1884 he recorded in his diary a decision not to write any more of them.⁹ In subsequent months, he referred to "another piece of the character of those already written"¹⁰ or "that class of piece,"¹¹ but such circumlocutions do not suggest that the three partners had only vague ideas about the genre they were producing at the Savoy, nor that the audiences were not able to perceive distinctive characteristics of the series. Preeminent among these was the relative weight given to the words and to the music. In his 1894 book *The Savoy Operas*, Percy Fitzgerald comments on the works each partner produced independently after the 1890 "carpet quarrel":

Of course a certain amount of success attended these productions [Gilbert's *The Mountebanks* and Sullivan's *Haddon Hall*], owing to the traditional popularity of the authors and the handsome style in which they were brought forward, but it was felt that the result was rather a specimen of the regular conventional opera—a libretto set to music—than the favourite Savoy partnership, in which the share of each was equally prominent.¹²

For such a champion of the Savoy tradition, "regular conventional opera" was necessarily a lesser breed; for the unnamed critic of *The Athenæum* reviewing the initial run of *Iolanthe*, however, the topsy-turvy relationship of libretto and score had been a fundamental problem:

Utterly opposed as are the extravagant productions of Messrs. Gilbert and Sullivan to the music dramas of Richard Wagner in spirit and intent, they are alike in this, that the literary element is of at least equal importance with the musical in their construction; and it is questionable

whether criticism of a new work should not rather come under the head of drama than of music.¹³

This was Sullivan's recurring complaint, preserved succinctly in a letter from Gilbert (and possibly rephrased by the librettist): "You say that our operas are 'Gilbert's pieces with music added by you.'" ¹⁴ Sullivan may have overstated the case in exasperation, but it is certain that even eighteen years into their partnership the composer was having to insist that "my judgment and opinion should have some weight with you in the laying out of the *musical situation*, even to making important alterations after the work has been framed."¹⁵ Although the nature of their collaboration changed over time, the libretti supply traces of evidence of "musical" decisions or suggestions made by Gilbert, sometimes overridden or ignored by the composer.

Text Prototype

Despite Gilbert's lasting popularity for the century since his death, our knowledge of the textual history of his libretti is still quite limited. The most substantial work of Gilbertian scholarship of the mid-twentieth century was Reginald Allen's *The First Night Gilbert and Sullivan*; its aim was "to present the texts as actually performed on the first nights."¹⁶ Allen's concise description of Gilbert's working method seems to square with all available evidence, and is worth quoting at length:

First the author described to the composer his idea for a plot, or he read him a plot outline. Then, if Sullivan responded with enthusiasm, Gilbert wrote out a complete story-line, without dialog and without lyrics. . . . Next, working painstakingly through trial and error on scores of copy-book pages, he roughed out his libretto, including the lyrics, which he sent to Sullivan for setting as fast as they were finished. Sequence was of no concern to either collaborator. . . . As soon as he completed a manuscript libretto, it was invariably set in type. From then on, author's alterations involved endless resetting. In other words, there were many different proof-copies pulled by the printer for the author's and company's use before the eventual publication day. . . . He never kept any of his preliminary material once a new production was launched. Except for his early trial jottings preserved in a number of copybooks, his own archive, now in the British Museum [now the British Library], does not contain pre-publication proof copies or in most instances even the earliest issues of first editions of his opera librettos.¹⁷

Allen regarded Gilbert's meticulous attention to detail as virtually infallible. It is little exaggeration to say that for Allen establishing the text

was merely a matter of identifying the printing of the libretto of each opera that was available for sale to the audience at the premiere, under the assumption that what was printed exactly reflected what was performed. He made minimal effort to consult the early vocal scores—Sullivan's autograph scores were not available to him—and the musical sources in some cases fail to support his hypothetical postpremiere revisions to the text. Moreover, minor textual changes made as the music was composed did not always attract Gilbert's attention, and in such instances, the printed libretto and the sung text had already diverged on the first night.¹⁸

Despite such limitations, Allen's labor has naturally served as the foundation for subsequent work. His planned comprehensive bibliography of the printed libretti remained incomplete and unpublished at his death in 1988. Since that time, the readings of a number of printed libretti of the operas have been examined. This has been largely the work of dedicated amateurs linked by the internet, tackling the project without any systematic governance and with little attempt at rigorous collation. In some cases, identifying the print run of a given exemplar can now be accomplished without much difficulty.¹⁹ The first effort to establish critical texts of both the libretto and the score of these works is Broude Brothers' still ongoing *Gilbert & Sullivan: The Operas*.²⁰ The critical and bibliographic documentation in this edition is exhaustive.

If bibliographic control of the printed libretti is at least tangible (albeit sketchy), much less is known about Gilbert's manuscripts. With the sole exception of *Utopia (Limited)*, no complete autograph manuscript libretto of any of the Savoy Operas exists. The license copies deposited with the Lord Chamberlain's office were generally prepublication prints; those few to be submitted in manuscript were prepared by copyists. Even the extent to which Gilbert's libretti ever existed in manuscript as coherent documents for anyone other than the typesetter is speculative. When interviewed about his working methods late in his career, Gilbert indicates as much, writing that once the collaborators had agreed on the subject,

I begin the numbers of the first act, and send him two or three of them at a time until the first act is completed. In this way he becomes familiar with it by slow degrees. The manuscript I send him contains none of the spoken dialogue, but only those words that are to be sung. I, however, insert between each number an outline of the dialogue that is to connect them, so that he may follow the exact drift of the plot, and fully understand how the musical situations are arrived at.²¹

In an 1891 profile in *The Strand Magazine*, Gilbert is depicted dispatching a complete manuscript:

It is post time, and on the day of my visit he had just finished the libretto of his new comic opera. He weighs the great blue envelope in his hand, and, after the servant has left the room, he flings himself into his favourite chair, and suggestively remarks, "There goes something that will either bring me in twenty thousand pounds or twenty thousand pence!"²²

The manuscript in question is presumably *The Mountebanks*, on which Gilbert collaborated with Alfred Cellier (based on an idea turned down by Sullivan before *The Mikado*). As the visit must have been no earlier than the summer of 1891 (for an interview appearing in October) and Cellier had received the lyrics several months before, this "great blue envelope" was surely addressed to the printer rather than the composer. This document is apparently no longer extant, but the surviving holograph of *Utopia (Limited)* in the British Library seems to be a copy intended for Chappell's compositor, and preserved with it is the initial printed proof of the libretto.²³ These documents transmit the state of Gilbert's text as of July 1893. In any case, the composer probably never saw it; he had received lyrics a few at a time since at least early March (even if he did not begin composition until 19 June).²⁴

The most substantial extant single document in Gilbert's hand prepared for Sullivan's use is a libretto of the first act of *The Pirates of Penzance*. Sullivan composed the work in December 1879 in New York, where he had gone with Gilbert in an attempt to thwart pirated productions of *H.M.S. Pinafore*. Although he had made sketches for act 1 while still in London during the autumn, he discovered that these had been left behind. Gilbert's manuscript libretto of act 1 was evidently produced to assist the composer as he assembled it anew.²⁵ Significantly, this document contains marginal notes in Sullivan's hand—including indications of key areas and melodic fragments. It remained among Sullivan's papers and in 1964 was acquired by the Pierpont Morgan Library.²⁶

The only other documented instance of Sullivan receiving from Gilbert a completed manuscript is his later recollection of the genesis of *Trial by Jury*:

He had called to read over to me the MS. of "Trial by Jury." He read it through, and it seemed to me, in a perturbed sort of way, with a gradual crescendo of indignation, in the manner of a man considerably disappointed with what he had written. As soon as he had come to the last word he closed up the manuscript violently, apparently unconscious of

the fact that he had achieved his purpose so far as I was concerned, inasmuch as I was screaming with laughter the whole time. The words and music were written, and all rehearsals completed within the space of three weeks.²⁷

Trial by Jury is an exceptional work among the Savoy Operas, not only because of its brevity (c. forty minutes), but also because of the total absence of spoken dialogue; if there had been any, Gilbert's regular working method would have made it the last stage of his labor. Moreover, Gilbert had prepared the libretto of *Trial by Jury*, which was a direct expansion of an existing work, more than a year before for Carl Rosa as a vehicle for Rosa's wife.²⁸ He was thus in a position to have a complete text in hand when he approached Sullivan. He had only worked with the composer once before, so there was no established working relationship. Sullivan could agree to set the work as it was, or Gilbert would look for another collaborator.²⁹

Steven Ledbetter gives a reasonable summary of the textual situation in this case:

We do not know how L3 [the third London edition of the libretto] is descended from what Gilbert originally wrote or what Sullivan set—not, it should be observed, [that these are] necessarily the same thing. L3 is presumably descended, through earlier editions of the printed libretto, from a Gilbert holograph, but we do not know whether that holograph represents what Sullivan set. It is possible that composer and librettist at one point agreed upon what the former would set but that subsequently, either deliberately or inadvertently, either with or without Gilbert's knowledge, Sullivan may have set something other than what he and Gilbert had agreed upon. . . . It would be helpful if we knew more about the ways in [which] Gilbert and Sullivan worked; it is certainly possible that Gilbert prepared a text for the printer and that some of the changes made in rehearsal or early in a run never reached the compositor. Besides, the printed libretto may to some extent be a text presented as a "literary" entity—with the adjustments in form attendant thereupon.³⁰

Ledbetter is right to emphasize the many gaps in our knowledge of the collaborators' working methods for any particular case, but looking across the span of their partnership the extant documents accord with the way each partner described their working method in interviews: Gilbert's prose drafts and sketched lyrics; Sullivan's rhythmic sketches, continuity drafts and layers of work evident in the autograph scores. Nonetheless, whatever version of the text Sullivan had before him as he composed often cannot be ascertained with certainty. (The significance

of this—namely, determining where Gilbert planned for recitative—will be demonstrated presently.) Judging from Gilbert's papers preserved in the British Library, at least by the second half of Gilbert's collaboration with Sullivan the composer was in the habit of returning Gilbert's manuscripts once he no longer needed them. Figure 2 is a leaf from the trove of lyrics preserved for *The Yeomen of the Guard*. The crease halfway down the sheet is not conclusive, but it is at least consistent with Gilbert's stated practice of sending a few lyrics at a time through the

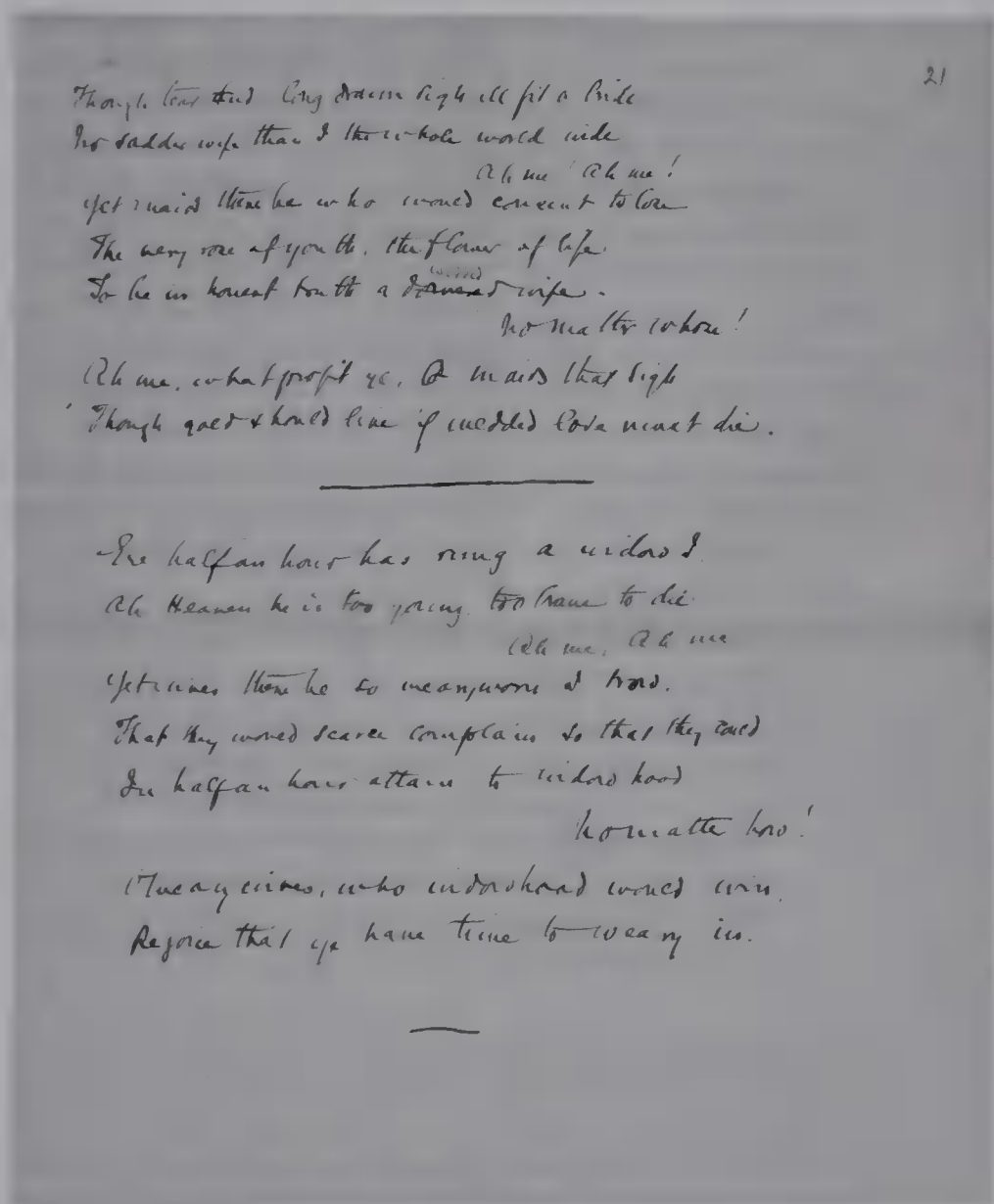


Figure 2. W. S. Gilbert, *The Yeomen of the Guard* (1879), autograph manuscript of lyric from act I. © British Library Board (Add. Ms. 49298 f. 21).

post (that is, not in a single flat sheaf in a “great blue envelope”). In several cases, Gilbert attempts the same song in different metrical structures. The page reproduced here gives Elsie’s song near the end of act 1, and includes an emendation by Gilbert: “wedded” for “dowered” in the sixth line. Gayden Wren has written perceptively about Sullivan’s setting of this text, which seems to disregard Gilbert’s prosody.³¹ Published libretti consistently print this song in shorter lines—“Though tear and long-drawn sigh / Ill fit a bride, / No sadder wife than I / The whole world wide! / Ah me! Ah me!”—and although it appears in that form in Gilbert’s manuscript on the previous folio, this leaf gives the text mainly in long lines (fifteen syllables) with internal rhymes.

Most significant about figure 2 is the penciled musical notation at the very top of the sheet, in which the composer explored a rhythmic pattern for the text—not, ultimately, the one he settled on.³² This is sufficient to confirm that the sheet was in Sullivan’s hand at some point before the composition of the song; many of the others preserved in the Gilbert papers have similar marks, and must have served the same function.

In a letter to Sullivan that touched off the feud that almost ended their working relationship after *Princess Ida*, Gilbert remarks: “During your absence I have busied myself with constructing a libretto; I have even gone so far as to write some of the numbers and to sketch out portions of the dialogue.”³³ By “even gone so far,” Gilbert seems to mean merely that he has gone beyond working out the plot into musical elements that would be subject to the composers’ approval. A few weeks into this same feud, Gilbert made his views clear on the respective authority of the two partners:

The plot of the piece, for which you must remember *I alone am responsible to the public*, I take to be a matter in which I am entitled to a casting vote: the subjects of the lyrics—questions of metre and rhythm—construction of duets, trios, and concerted music, and, in short, all points bearing on the musical requirements of the pieces are matters in which I hold that your decision is final.³⁴

In the same letter, he reminded Sullivan that the partners were not free agents, but were bound by their contract with Carte to produce a work at six months notice; moreover, Gilbert wrote, Sullivan was not in the position of a “grand opera” composer, remarking on “the subordinate position which the librettist of such an opera must necessarily occupy.”³⁵ The implication is that such a position would require the “subordinate” librettist to provide the composer with a complete libretto before

composition began, and the decisions thereafter would be wholly in the hands of the composer.³⁶

One consequence of this significant difference between the collaborative accommodations that produced the Savoy Operas and those of many other operatic composers is an inconsistency in the tone of the pieces. Increasingly in these pieces, there is a marked difference between the character of the lyrics, that is, the portion of the libretto that the composer saw as he began his work, and the dialogue, which the composer heard only in the final stages of the rehearsal process. Earlier in this 1884 feud, Sullivan had asked "to set a story of human interest and probability, where the humorous words would come in a humorous (not serious) situation, and where, if the situation were a tender or dramatic one, the words would be of a similar character."³⁷ With rare exceptions, Gilbert's solution was to move the burlesque into the dialogue, leaving Sullivan unaware of the total effect until a late stage in the process. In the middle of the first act of *The Gondoliers*, for example, Gilbert reveals the surprise love interest between Casilda (daughter of the Duke of Plaza-Toro) and her father's attendant Luiz. Hitherto, her interactions with him have displayed contempt. Then, after a rather perfunctory patter-song in which her father describes how he heroically "led his regiment from behind," the parents depart, and Luiz and Casilda reveal their true feelings. An early version sent to Sullivan is preserved in Gilbert's papers:

RECITATIVE

Luiz.	Star of my soul! My loved one—my adored— Sweet girl that makest life one golden song, We are once more alone!
Carlotta	O my beloved!
[sic; later renamed Casilda].	Prince of my life—sole fount of earthly joy Pardon, oh pardon for the cruel disdain That at the call of prudence I have heaped Upon thy noble soul.
Luiz.	Hush, hush, my own! I can bear all and more for thy sweet sake. Each word of scorn that hisses from thy lips Is but another bandage on the eyes Of thy most haughty but most hoodwinked parents.

BALLAD—LUIZ.

Thy wintry scorn I dearly prize,
 Thy mocking pride I bless;
 Thy scorn is love in deep disguise,
 Thy pride is lowliness.
 Thy cold disdain,
 It gives no pain—
 'Tis mercy, played
 In masquerade.
 Thine angry frown
 Is but a gown
 That serves to dress
 Thy gentleness!

If angry frown and deep disdain
 Be love in masked array,
 So much the bitterer their arraignment,
 So much the sweeter they!
 With mocking smile
 My love beguile;
 With idle jest
 Appease my breast;
 With angry voice
 My soul rejoice;
 Beguile with scorn
 My heart forlorn!

Oh happy he who is content to gain
 Thy scorn, thine angry frown, thy deep disdain!³⁸

The recitative was apparently never set; presumably either Sullivan or Gilbert recognized that at such a moment, an outburst by both characters ("O rapture!") would be more believable than a dialogue between them. Luiz's rather prosaic ballad was retained at least until the premiere, but soon replaced by a more concise duet that reuses many phrases of the original lyrics. The musical substance of the duet was probably entirely new, but the original song was removed from Sullivan's autograph and is lost.³⁹

There follows a dialogue in which Casilda confesses that she has just learned she was "wed in babyhood to the infant son of the King of Barataria." Her illicit romance with Luiz must therefore end. The text for the duet that follows is appropriately tender and wistful:

DUET—CASILDA and LUIZ.

- LUIZ. There was a time—
 A time forever gone—ah, woe is me!
 It was no crime
 To love but thee alone—ah, woe is me!
 One heart, one life, one soul,
 One aim, one goal—
 Each in the other's thrall,
 Each all in all, ah, woe is me!
- ENSEMBLE. Oh, bury, bury—let the grave close o'er
 The days that were—that never will be more!
 Oh, bury, bury love that all condemn,
 And let the whirlwind mourn its requiem!
- CASILDA. Dead as the last year's leaves—
 As gathered flowers—ah, woe is me!
 Dead as the garnered sheaves,
 That love of ours—ah, woe is me!
 Born but to fade and die
 When hope was high,
 Dead and as far away
 As yesterday!—ah, woe is me!
- ENSEMBLE. Oh bury, bury, let the grave close o'er, &c.⁴⁰

The composer had agreed to the plot outline in a meeting in early June 1889. Throughout the late summer and autumn, he received the lyrics from Gilbert piecemeal, and Gilbert was willing to undertake a good bit of rewriting to satisfy the composer.⁴¹ The lyrics above were sent to Sullivan to be set, but he would not have heard dialogue until the rehearsals were well under way. The two lovers caught in a tragic situation indulge in a lengthy and tiresome joke:

- CASILDA. [...] Henceforth my life is another's.
 LUIZ. But stay—the present and the future—*they* are another's;
 but the past—that at least is ours, and none can take it from
 us. As we may revel in naught else, let us revel in that!
- CASILDA. I don't think I grasp your meaning.
 LUIZ. Yet it is logical enough. You say you cease to love me?
 CASILDA (*demurely*). I say I *may* not love you.
 LUIZ. But you do not say you *did* not love me?
 CASILDA. I loved you with a frenzy that words are powerless to
 express—and that but ten brief minutes since!
- LUIZ. Exactly. My own—that is, until ten minutes since, my

own—my lately loved, my recently adored—tell me that until, say a quarter of an hour ago, I was all in all to thee! (*Embracing her.*)

CASILDA. I see your idea. It's ingenious, but don't do that (*releasing herself*).

LUIZ. There can be no harm in reveling in the past.

CASILDA. None whatever, but an embrace cannot be taken to act retrospectively.

LUIZ. Perhaps not!

CASILDA. We may recollect an embrace—I recollect many—but we must not repeat them,

LUIZ. Then let us recollect a few!

(*A moment's pause, as they recollect, then both heave a deep sigh.*)

LUIZ. Ah, Casilda, you were to me as the sun is to the earth!

CASILDA. A quarter of an hour ago?

LUIZ. About that.

CASILDA. And to think that, but for this miserable discovery, you would have been my own for life!

LUIZ. Through life to death—a quarter of an hour ago!

CASILDA. How greedily my thirsty ears would have drunk the golden melody of those sweet words a quarter—well it's now about twenty minutes since (*looking at her watch*).

LUIZ. About that. In such a matter one cannot be too precise.[. . .]

This spoken dialogue does not fit the sung text on either side of it. There is no hint in the song that precedes it or in the duet that follows of the Gilbertian logical absurdity that characterizes the speeches in between. No reaction from Sullivan is documented, but he must have found the material that links these two passages to be beneath the level of the rest of the work.

Whatever details Sullivan might have been given about the yet-to-be-written dialogue—if any—can be suggested by Gilbert's draft libretti preserved in the British Library. These sources contain a wealth of detail about Gilbert's method, and his habit of writing out the plots repeatedly in prose as he worked them out reveals what might have been in tantalizing ways. These have been most extensively studied by John Wolfson, Jane W. Stedman, and Andrew Crowther.⁴² An example from the earliest known draft of *Patience* (c. early 1880, and containing only a portion of act 1) reveals Gilbert making a conscious distinction between prose dialogue and recitative at a very early stage of his work.⁴³ Rather than spoofing the aesthetic movement (as the work would eventually

do), in this draft the characters are more closely connected to his 1867 "Bab" ballad, "The Rival Curates."⁴⁴ In the draft, the opening scene is described thus:

Scene. Exterior of country Vicarage. Ladies discovered seated on lawn in despairing attitudes, headed by Angela, Ella & Saphir. They are waiting to congratulate Rev.^d Lawn Tennyson on his birthday, & give him slippers, comforters, braces &^c which they are working upon

Gilbert then sketched out the lyrics for the opening chorus of "love-sick maidens," which is remarkably close to the finished version. He then made notes about the dialogue which follows:

Approach of Patience who alone of all the village maidens is insensible to the charms of Rev.^d L. T. In point of fact Patience has never loved—does not know what it is,
Her entrance to recitative.
She is pained to see the girls so unhappy—
She is aware that it is owing to their love for Rev. L. Tennyson
Still that conveys no idea to her mind, as she cannot realize what love is.

Recit

Angela.	See—hither comes the village school-mistress Poor Patience—who alone of womankind Remains insensate to his calm attractions!
Saphir	Unhappy girl—her heart has ne'er known love—
Ella	Benighted creature!
Angela	Miserable maid!

Patience appears on rock L

Patience	Your pardon ladies—I intrude upon you—(<i>going</i>)
Angela	Come hither, Patience—tell us—is it true That you have never loved?
Patience (<i>coming down</i>)	Most true indeed!
Sopranos	Most marvelous!
Contraltos	And most deplorable!

There follows Patience's song "I cannot tell what this love may be," which survived with minimal changes in the version set by Sullivan.

Not only has Gilbert decided where the recitative should start ("Her entrance to recitative"), he has even made the musical decision

that the last two lines should be split between the upper and lower voices. It is clear Gilbert was thinking musically, and at a very early stage allotting specific moments to recitative. One might imagine a different method, with the composer reviewing the draft libretto and deciding what portions needed musical treatment—but that was clearly not how this partnership operated. Gilbert showed himself willing to write and rewrite for the composer, sometimes preemptively offering alternative texts for the same song in different meters, but he made a significant number of decisions bearing on the musical construction of the work on his own.⁴⁵

Gilbert's Operatic Prosody

Gilbert had written scripts for more than twenty-five productions before his first collaboration with Sullivan, and most of these other early pieces were in styles characterized by verse throughout—pantomime, extravaganza, and burlesque.⁴⁶ These were commonly written in rhyming couplets. Gilbert ventured into blank verse, though with indifferent results. In this effort, he was apparently aspiring to write drama on a higher aesthetic level.⁴⁷ He evidently considered the blank verse plays merited the permanence of publication: Four are included in his first volume of *Original Plays*, published in 1876. As one reviewer remarked:

Mr. Gilbert, in fact, has considerable command of pure, strong, nervous English; and his blank verse, if it does not appeal to the ear with any great charm of melody or bold refreshing beauty, is consistently free from the ignorant defects of metre which are so frequently found in the poetry of our contemporary stage. It is always studiously correct, and what is more the correctness is attained without any awkward inversion of the component parts of the sentences.⁴⁸

Whether the dialogue was in prose or in verse, in Gilbert's early works music is present only in the manner of a ballad opera: a pastiche from various sources, with newly composed texts (that is, contrafactum). As Gilbert notes in the preface to *Ruy Blas*, describing it as "a preposterous piece of nonsense for private representation":

The airs introduced into this burlesque were selected on account of their being for the most part old and hackneyed, and at the tip of everybody's tongue. They were chosen for the convenience of those rough and ready amateurs who get up a thing of the kind in a back drawing-room at two day's [sic] notice. Of course, if you are ambitious, and have plenty of time

to do it in, you can “go in” for operatic and concerted pieces of a complicated description. Only, you will have to write your own words.⁴⁹

After a few years of this sort of approach, the music Gilbert chose to parody came more and more from opera. Gilbert’s knowledge of Continental operatic traditions—particularly Italian opera—has been the subject of study, although such treatments have been limited to his indebtedness in terms of plot and have not included any musical considerations.⁵⁰ The situation is complicated. Gilbert could provide for a *largo concertato* at appropriate moments, and traces of the *solita forma* duet model (*tempo d’attacco—adagio—tempo di mezzo—cabaletta*) are even evident in *The Pirates of Penzance*, although whether the structural parallels were initially the idea of the composer or the librettist is unclear.⁵¹ Gilbert bought vocal scores for his own use, but it is not clear how much the musical notation would have been intelligible to him.⁵² The sole identifiable example of musical notation in his hand (scrawled on the autograph score of *Our Island Home*, an 1870 collaboration with Thomas German Reed) is nonsensical.⁵³ Although Sullivan’s diary records that Gilbert was enlisted to copy parts in the mad rush to prepare the performing materials for *The Pirates of Penzance*, it is impossible to determine how much actual help he was on that occasion.⁵⁴ The vocal scores he acquired may have served only as reference sources for musicians who prepared the pastiche productions, but also he may have used them to assist in the composition of texts that would closely follow the original versification. Among Gilbert’s papers, however, is a notebook of twelve-stave paper (twelve leaves); on the verso of the front cover, he has written:

Airs introduced into Burlesque of
 “Robert the Devil, or the Nun, the Hun, and
 The Son of a Gun.”
 W. S. Gilbert
 28 Eldon Road
 Kensington
 London. W.⁵⁵

Gilbert has headed each recto to designate the musical source of his contrafacta. Some music has been filled in on the last leaf in another hand; otherwise, the pages are blank, except for the amateurish scrawl reproduced in figure 3, which appears on the first page of music. “Opening Chorus” has been struck through and replaced with “Finale to Scene 6 / ‘Logeons le donc et des ce soir’—Grande Duchesse.” The two lines of music below are a mystery. Lacking bar lines and even a

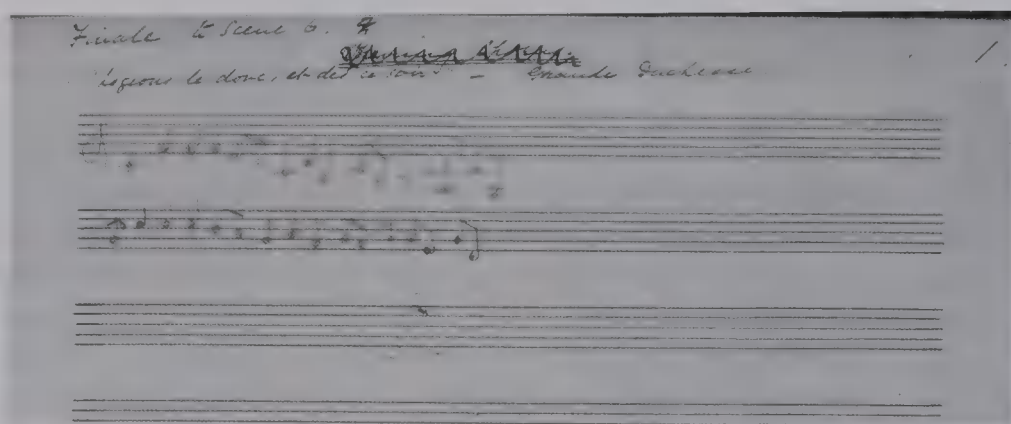


Figure 3. W. S. Gilbert, music notebook for *Robert the Devil* (1868). © British Library Board (Add. Ms. 49318 f. 66).

consistent meter, they are nonsensical; and yet they seem to have been copied from some source, albeit by someone (Gilbert?) for whom the graphic characters were meaningless. They relate neither to Offenbach's *La Grande Duchesse de Gérolstein* nor to Meyerbeer's *Robert le Diable*, which was the musical source for the opening chorus. As this is the first page, the notation may be unrelated to the heading, just a stray jotting on (by-then) scrap paper.

This mystery notwithstanding, *Robert the Devil* is significant because it contains the first instance of Gilbert's use of the term "recitative" in a libretto. This 1868 "operatic extravaganza" borrows tunes not only from its Meyerbeerian target, but also Bellini, Offenbach, Hervé, Auber, and others. Another of Gilbert's parody sources is "Les rendez-vous de noble compagnie" from Ferdinand Hérold's *Le Pré aux clercs* (1832). Hérold does not indicate *recitatif*, but Gilbert specifies "Recit." in his libretto, possibly intending some declamatory freedom in performance. Example 1 reconstructs the beginning of the *Robert the Devil* number by adding Gilbert's lyrics to the musical text of the 1840 *Le Pré aux clercs* vocal score. (There is a similar contrafactum in Gilbert's *The Pretty Druidess* [1869] where he provided a new text for Bellini's recitative "Sediziose voci" [*Norma*], although in this instance Bellini also designates "recitative.")

Whereas Gilbert's first attempts were perhaps a consequence of his selection of operatic models for parody, recitative continues to play a modest role in his musical works thereafter, when his lyrics were set to original scores. Among his early musical "entertainments" were those written for German Reed and his "Gallery of Illustration" (an institution so respectable that it eschewed the word *theatre*).⁵⁶ In these, Gilbert used recitative rarely, but he clearly recognized its potential to heighten

Allegro maestoso (♩ = 112)

6 Un peu moins vite (♩ = 100)

PLANARD: Les ren-dez -
GILBERT: Be-fore I

dim. ff 15 p

10

- vous de no - ble com - pa - gni - e Se don - nent tous dans ce char - mant sé -
sing - my cap I cir - cu - late - The co - lour of your gold I like - to
(handing round cap)

13

- jour Et dou - ce - ment on y pas - se la vi - e, Et dou - ce -
see! In stir - ring verse the ac - count I'll nar - rate In stir - ring

Example 1. Reconstructed score of "Before I sing, my cap I circulate" (labeled "Recit.") in W. S. Gilbert's *Robert the Devil* (1868). Sources: Ferdinand Hérold, *Le Pré aux clercs* (1832, lib. Eugène de Planard); Alexandre Grus (Paris), c. 1840, third edition vocal score; and W. S. Gilbert, *New and Original Extravaganzas*, ed. Isaac Goldberg (Boston: J. W. Luce & Co., 1931). 118f.

16

19

22

Example 1. Continued

a dramatic moment. A representative example is *Ages Ago* (1869), where Gilbert's libretto called for just two recitatives, reserving these for particularly dynamic moments. The first of these initiates a lengthy comic musical sequence, when the action is arrested by a knock at the door. The recitative consists of just two rhyming couplets, the former melodramatically overstated, the latter absurdly inane. Example 2 shows Frederic Clay's setting.

Presto

TARE Recit:

Ha! what was that? It

ff

7

a tempo

shook me to the core! What was it, Ro-sa? tell me I im-plore!

13

ROSA **p**

I ra-ther think, but

p

19

mind, I won't be sure— I think it's some-one knock-ing at the door!

The musical score is written for voice and piano. It is in the key of D major (two sharps) and common time. The tempo starts with 'Presto' and then changes to 'a tempo'. The score is divided into measures, with measure numbers 7, 13, and 19 indicated. The vocal part is on a single staff, and the piano accompaniment is on two staves. Dynamics include 'ff' (fortissimo) and 'p' (piano). The lyrics are written below the vocal staff.

Example 2. Frederic Clay, *Ages Ago* (1869, lib. W. S. Gilbert): no. 5, mm. 1–24. Source: vocal score, Boosey & Co., 1870.

In a subsequent scene that anticipates the second act of *Ruddigore* five portraits come to life. Clay precedes this with what he labeled an “Entr’acte” for the supernatural transformation, augmenting the traditional piano-and-harmonium scoring of the Reed entertainments with a

30 LADY MAUD Recit:

I breathe! I live! since last I saw the day, Five tar - dy cen - tu - ries have pass'd a -

[Pianoforte]

34

- way No long - er o'er my grave let chap - lets wreath, my bo - som throbs with

38 *f*

life I live! I breathe! My bo - som throbs with life, I

f

43

breathe! I live!

[Harmonium]

ff [Harp] *p*

Example 3. Frederic Clay, *Ages Ago* (1869, lib. W. S. Gilbert): no. 8, mm. 30–46. Source: vocal score, Boosey & Co., 1870.

harp “on the stage.” Gilbert’s recitative is very brief—again just two couplets (ex. 3). Clay adds a passionate repetition of the text (“My bosom throbs with life—I live! I breathe!”) as the vivified Lady Maud de Bohun steps down from her frame.

Recitative was a special effect rather than a default mode in the Victorian vernacular musical theater.⁵⁷ This notwithstanding, there is sufficient variety of recitatives to make it difficult to describe a “typical” example. In general, recitative texts in works by other librettists resemble the examples above—with text conveyed in rhyming couplets of tetrameter or pentameter—or sometimes no discernible meter at all, but with the rhyme inevitably retained.⁵⁸ The recitatives in Burnand and Sullivan’s *The Contrabandista* (1867) demonstrate this procedure, as shown in the two following examples. Burnand used recitative quite sparingly and apparently for rhetorical effect; he might not have known precisely what he wanted.

In the first example, as English tourist Adolphus Cimabue Grigg sets up his camera to capture the Spanish mountain vista, he discovers two brigands. He interrupts his song:

GRIGG.	[. . .] I think that the lens I can clearly direct And at last I have got quite a charming effect.
(<i>recit.</i>).	Ah! now to arrange it. A capital plan. I’ve sighted a rock. No, ’tis a man!
SANCHO.	Ha! ha! you have hit on a capital plan. I’m a man!
GRIGG.	And another!
JOSE.	Another young man.

At first glance, the lines marked as recitative seem not to scan: “Ah! now to arrange it . . .” has eleven syllables, and “I’ve sighted a rock . . .” only nine, although the lines are clearly intended to rhyme and thus form some sort of couplet. On closer inspection, it appears that Burnand is merely continuing the prevailing triple rhythm of the song (“I |**think** that the |**lens** I can |**clear-ly** di-|**rect**”) in the lines marked “*recit.*” If so, there are two silent beats in the second recitative line (“I’ve |**sight**-ed a |**rock**. ~ ~ |**No**, ’tis a |**man**!”), and the dactyls continue inexorably through “Another young man.” This is not at all clear in Sullivan’s setting of the text, however, which treats the whole section as a rhetorical break from the preceding meter, with rhythms dictated by an imitation of speech rhythm.

In the second example, Mr. Grigg has been mistaken as the chief of the brigands; for the recitative, again in the middle of a number,

words & phrases that involve a hard collocation of consonants & a succession of close vowels. I wrote two of the songs in “The Yeomen of the Guard” (“Were I thy bride” and “Is life a boon”) for the express purpose of proving this.⁶³

Whether this had “always” been his opinion or not, Gilbert’s Italianate prosody is clear in the early works with Sullivan, and may be illustrated by two brief sections of recitative from act 1 of *The Pirates of Penzance*.⁶⁴ (For each line of verse, the final accent is here marked by a bold underline and preceded by a vertical stroke. In the right column the number of syllables in the line is tallied.)

Recitative—FREDERIC.

What shall I do? Before these gentle ma idens	11
I dare not show in this alarming co stume.	11
No, no, I must remain in close con ce alment	11
Until I can appear in decent clo thing!	11
[...]	

Recitative—MABEL.

Hold, monsters! Ere your pirate cara van serai	12 (= <i>sdrucchiolo</i>)
Proceed, against our will, to wed us all ,	10 (= <i>tronco</i>)
Just bear in mind that we are wards in Ch ancery,	12
And father is a Major-Gener al !	10

The meter of Italian verse is determined by the placement of the last accent of the line, but in Italian, the default pattern concludes with an unaccented syllable—a duple (or feminine) ending. A line in which the last accent comes on the tenth syllable will usually have an additional syllable beyond that, and is therefore classified as an *endecasillabo*. (The same holds for lines of any length; the *settenario*, for example, has a final accent on the sixth syllable.) Frederic’s quatrain above consists of default (*piano*) *endecasillabo* lines—eleven syllables with the final accent on the penultimate syllable. Although this is the standard, the Italian line length may be altered in either of two ways: The line may be truncated (*tronco*), terminating on the accented tenth syllable (although still reckoned as *endecasillabo*), or a further unaccented syllable may be appended to the end, yielding a twelve-syllable *endecasillabo sdrucchiolo* (“slippery”). Mabel’s quatrain illustrates both of these types.

Significantly, the lines of Mabel’s quatrain are rhymed.⁶⁵ When Gilbert uses *sdrucchiolo* (triple ending) lines, he invariably rhymes them. Thus, in act 2 of *The Grand Duke*, these four *endecasillabi sdrucchioli*:

LUDWIG (*recit.*).

His Highness we know not—nor the lo <u>cal</u> ity	12
In which is situate his Princi <u>pal</u> ity;	12
But as he guesses by some odd fa <u>tal</u> ity	12
This is the shop for cut and dried for <u>mal</u> ity!	12

Here Gilbert departs from the Italian model, where such rhyme is rare. In English, prosodist Derek Attridge argues that this ending with two unstressed syllables tends to be rhymed, but even so this is “very rare and is most often done for comic effect.”⁶⁶ Similarly, Bernard Richards comments that the result is almost unavoidably comic:

One of the mainsprings of the comic is to be found in mechanical predictability; the fat man slipping on the banana skin walks with unerring regularity and fails to take avoiding action. The comic and absurd universe is made up of relentless regularity with no room for manoeuvre. The inevitability of polysyllabic rhyme seems to share in the grotesque over-determinacy of the comic and absurd universe.⁶⁷

Indeed, this sort of thing seems to have appealed to Gilbert’s impish sense of humor.⁶⁸

For most of the nineteenth century, and for more than a century before, recitative text in Italian libretti was cast in *versi sciolti*: unrhymed lines freely mixing *endecasillabi* and *settenari*. It would be more accurate to term Gilbert’s practice *endecasillabi sciolti*, as he does not usually mix lines of different lengths in the manner of the Italian operatic librettist. This difference associates Gilbert’s practice not with opera (as he perhaps intended) but with Italian epic verse generally. Rhymed or unrhymed, Dante argued that the *endecasillabo* was the meter of high style, and so it remained.⁶⁹

Blank verse was the nearest English equivalent to *endecasillabi sciolti*; indeed, scholars have argued that blank verse and *endecasillabi sciolti* are vernacular equivalents of the classical “heroic verse” prototype.⁷⁰ Unaccented endings abound in Italian vocabulary; there are markedly fewer in English, so that the default in blank verse is a true ten syllables—five iambs, thus ending with an accent. Extra syllables causing duple endings are certainly found in blank verse; for example, “To be, or not to be, that is the |question.” These are exceptions, however—rare in Marlowe, a special effect in Shakespeare, Wordsworth, the Brownings, virtually unknown in Milton.⁷¹ Indeed, it is exceedingly rare in Gilbert’s own blank verse: In *Princess Ida* (the dialogue of which is entirely in blank verse) only seven lines terminate with an extra unaccented syllable. In his recitative, however, eleven-syllable (duple-ending)

lines are extremely common—and in *The Sorcerer*, *H.M.S. Pinafore*, and *The Pirates of Penzance* they may even be regarded as his default meter. It seems more accurate to align Gilbert's recitative with Italian models (even if he seems not to have shown any interest in the usual patterns of accents within an *endecasillabo* line) than to argue that he was perversely pushing against the blank-verse norm. It is clear that Gilbert did not conceive of his unrhymed recitatives as blank verse.

Before his collaboration with Sullivan, Gilbert's recitatives are conventional, in that they are invariably rhymed, as illustrated above in the examples from *Robert the Devil* and *Ages Ago*. The same is true even in *Thespis* and, except for a few stray single lines, *Trial by Jury* as well. After that, however, there is a marked change in Gilbert's conception of recitative. *The Sorcerer* was the first commissioned two-act work from the Gilbert and Sullivan partnership by the newly formed Comedy Opera Company. Although the use of recitative is extensive, examining the metrical structure of the first scene suggests that Gilbert intended to have much more—and perhaps even writing all the dialogue in unrhymed verse, whether or not it was to be set as recitative. Here is Gilbert's libretto starting just after the opening chorus (annotated to indicate prosody):

At the end of the chorus, exeunt the men into house.

Enter MRS. PARTLET, meeting CONSTANCE, her daughter.

RECITATIVE.

MRS. PARTLET.	Constance, my daughter, why this strange de <u>pression</u> ?	11
	The village rings with seasonable <u>joy</u> ,	10
	Because the young and amiable A <u>lexis</u> ,	11
	Heir to the great Sir Marmaduke Point <u>dextre</u> ,	11
	Is plighted to Aline, the only <u>daughter</u>	11
	Of Annabella, Lady Sanga <u>zure</u> .	10
	You, you alone are sad and out of <u>spirits</u> ;	11
	What is the reason? Speak, my daughter, <u>speak</u> !	10
CONSTANCE.	Oh, mother, do not ask! If my com <u>plexion</u>	11
	From red to white should change in quick suc <u>cession</u> —	11
	And then from white to red, oh, take no <u>notice</u> !	11
	If my poor limbs should tremble with e <u>motion</u> ,	11
	Pay no attention, mother—it is <u>nothing</u> !	11
	If long and deep-drawn sighs I chance to <u>utter</u> ,	11
	Oh, heed them not—their cause must ne'er be <u>known</u> !	10

MRS. PARTLET. My child, be candid—think not to de|ceive 10
 The eagle-eyed pew-opener—. You |love! 10
 CONSTANCE (*aside*). How guessed she that, my heart's most cherished
 |secret? 11
 (*Aloud*). I *do* love—fondly—madly—hopeless|ly!⁷² 10

ARIA [*sic*]—CONSTANCE.
 [“When he is here,” two stanzas (omitted here)]

At the end of the song, MRS. PARTLET silently motions to women to leave them together. Exeunt chorus.

MRS. PARTLET. Come, tell me all about it! Do not |fear— 10
 I, too, have loved; but that was long a|go! 10
 Who is the object of your young af|fections? 11
 CONSTANCE. Hush, mother! He is here!
Enter DR. DALY. He is pensive and does not see them.
 MRS. PARTLET. Our reverend |vicar! 11
 CONSTANCE. Oh, pity me, my heart is almost |broken! 11
 MRS. PARTLET. My child, be comforted. To such an |union 11
 I shall not offer any oppo|sition. 11
 Take him—he's yours! May you and he be |happy! 11
 CONSTANCE. But, mother dear, he is not yours to |give! 10
 MRS. PARTLET. That's true, indeed!
 CONSTANCE. He might object!
 Mrs. Partlet. He |might. 10
 But come—take heart—I'll probe him
 on the |subject. 11
 Be comforted—leave this affair to |me. 10

RECITATIVE—DR. DALY.
 The air is charged with amatory |numbers— 11
 Soft madrigals, and dreamy lovers' |lays. 10
 Peace, peace, old heart! Why waken from its |slumbers 11
 The aching memory of the old, old |days? 10

BALLAD.
 [“Time was, when Love and I were well acquainted,” two stanzas (omitted)]

Although the dialogue after Constance's song is not labeled “recitative” or, to be more precise, is not so labeled in any known source, it is not prose dialogue. It continues in verse—indeed, in Gilbert's

recitative verse form of *endecasillibi sciolti*—right up to Dr. Daly's (labeled) recitative, which continues in rhymed *endecasillibi*. At some point, the four lines immediately preceding Constance's song were cut, so that the recitative ends with the line "their cause must ne'er be known." This cut makes nonsense of Constance's words: She then immediately divulges the cause without provocation. In the cut lines, her mother indicates that she has divined the cause already.

Gilbert's Strategies, Sullivan's Solutions

The verse dialogue immediately after Constance's song seems never to have been set to music, and perhaps it was never even sent to Sullivan to set. Gilbert may have started the project imagining something sung throughout—as *Trial by Jury* had been—only to change his mind soon thereafter. If so, he did not see any need to change this, as it reads naturally anyway. As the critic of his *Original Plays* had noted, his verse was correct "without any awkward inversion of the component parts of the sentences." The change to rhymed verse for Dr. Daly's soliloquy is significant: It is no longer dialogue, but rather an introduction to the song that follows. Gilbert regularly employs such a rhymed quatrain (often 11.10.11.10 with rhyme scheme ABAB, as here) as a signal of some significant but dramatically static musical number to follow. A few examples may suffice to demonstrate the pervasiveness of this usage:

RECITATIVE—SIR MARMADUKE.

Be happy all—the feast is spread before ye;
 Fear nothing, but enjoy yourselves, I pray!
 Eat, aye, and drink—be merry, I implore ye,
 For once let thoughtless Folly rule the day.
 [attacca "Tea-cup Brindisi"]

(*The Sorcerer*, act 1)

RECITATIVE—BUTTERCUP.

Hail, men-o'-war's men—safeguards of your nation,
 Here is an end, at last, of all privation;
 You've got your pay—spare all you can afford
 To welcome Little Buttercup on board.
 [attacca "I'm called Little Buttercup"]
 (*H.M.S. Pinafore*, act 1)

RECITATIVE—LORD CHANCELLOR.

Love, unrequited, robs me of my rest:
 Love, hopeless love, my ardent soul encumbers:

Love, nightmare-like, lies heavy on my chest,
 And weaves itself into my midnight slumbers!
 [attacca "When you're lying awake with a dismal headache"]
 (*Iolanthe*, act 2)

RECITATIVE—HILARION.
 To-day we meet, my baby bride and I—
 But ah, my hopes are balanced by my fears!
 What transmutations have been conjured by
 The silent alchemy of twenty years!
 [attacca "Ida was a twelve-month old"]
 (*Princess Ida*, act 1)

There are many similar examples in each of the Gilbert and Sullivan works (and even examples in Sullivan's later Savoy works *Haddon Hall* and *The Beauty Stone*). In each of these instances, Gilbert indicates recitative. So far as can be determined in the earliest texts of these collaborations, statistical analysis of the verse that Gilbert—rather than Sullivan—intended as "recitative" reveals that slightly more than half of the lines form rhymed couplets or quatrains, but seldom larger structures. Roughly 30 percent of the Gilbert's recitative lines are unrhymed *endecasillabi*, and these tend to form lengthy passages. *The Sorcerer* and *The Pirates of Penzance* contain the most such lines, closely followed by the very late *Utopia Limited* (in which unrhymed recitative supplants rhymed couplets to a large extent), the early *H.M.S. Pinafore*, and *The Yeomen of the Guard* in the partnership's most successful years.⁷³ Even if Gilbert's conception of what constituted recitative broadened over the years, he was drawn to unrhymed recitative throughout his career with Sullivan. The remaining lines—slightly less than 20 percent—are generally rhymed but use mixed metrical structures, or are complicated by internal rhymes.⁷⁴ A few stray single-line interjections appear as well.

In the rhymed quatrain examples above, the effect is like a preface, calling for attention to the ensuing piece. As such, Gilbert achieves an operatic effect that was once the domain of the composer—as in eighteenth-century opera, a significant aria would be preceded by a *recitativo accompagnato* (involving the orchestra rather than just the continuo in the recitative accompaniment). The switch from *recitativo secco* to *accompagnato* would not be apparent in the verse structure of the libretto: Generally, the recitative text would continue in *versi sciolti*—although perhaps a dramatic change might be apt because of the departure of all but one character from the stage. A possible final rhyming

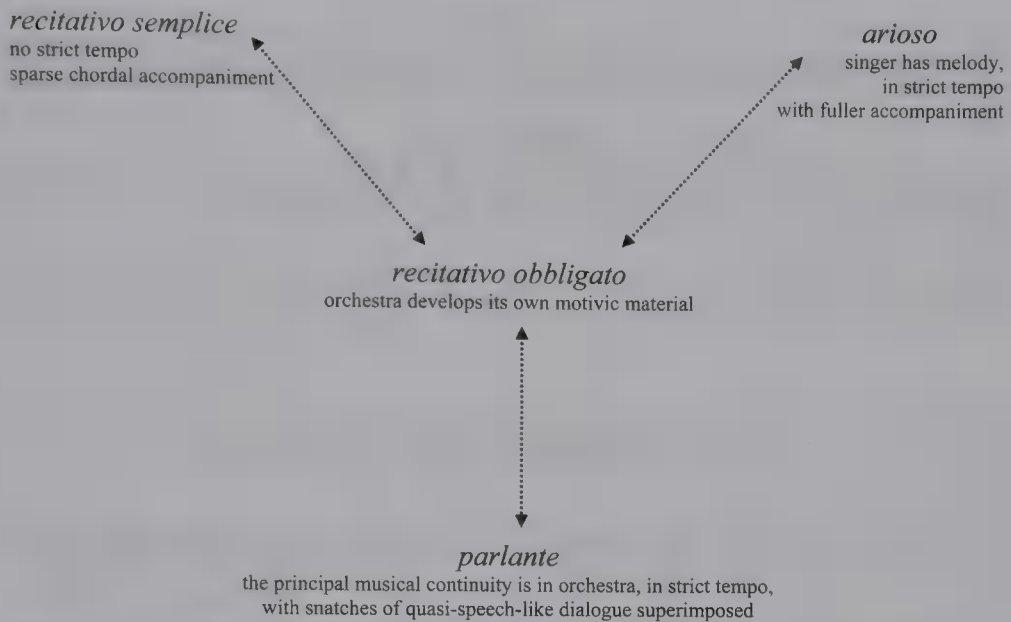


Figure 4. Typology of transitional textures.

couplet notwithstanding, the choice to change to *accompagnato* was principally in the composer's domain. As a librettist, Gilbert's tendency was to venture into the composer's territory, regardless of whether the composer would adopt his suggestions.

Sullivan's recitative settings are remarkable not for any new ground they break, but from the breadth of the styles that seem to have worked upon him. Little is known about the extent of his work as the coeditor of Boosey's series; the position may have been mainly nominal. His own scores, however, reveal a cosmopolitan range of influence, and the network of related musical textures Sullivan uses for moments that Gilbert identified as "recitative," shown in figure 4, is representative of mid-nineteenth-century European opera generally.

All of these textures may be regarded as "transitional," as they lead from dialogue or other music to some other substantial set piece. On the top left of the schema, the musical content is subordinated to a fairly straightforward delivery of the text. This is orchestral *recitativo semplice*, which from the early nineteenth century had replaced continuo *recitativo secco* as the least elaborate recitative texture. On the top right, *arioso*, the singer declaims the text to a distinct melody. Here the musical substance, though not the dominant factor, might entail repetitions of a few text phrases, and the rate of delivery depends on the coherent flow of the melody. At the bottom is a texture in which the principal musical continuity is given to the orchestra, whose material is self-sufficient. Snatches of quasi-speech-like sung dialogue are

Allegretto

Recit. CAPTAIN C.

My gal-lant crew, good morn-ing!

ff

7


Chorus TENORS and BASSES

I hope you're all quite well. I am in

Sir, good morn-ing! Quite well, and you, sir?

f

8vb *8vb* *8vb* *8vb*

Rhythm in first edition: 

13

hap-py to

rea-son-a-ble health, And hap-py to meet you all once more.

You do us proud, sir!

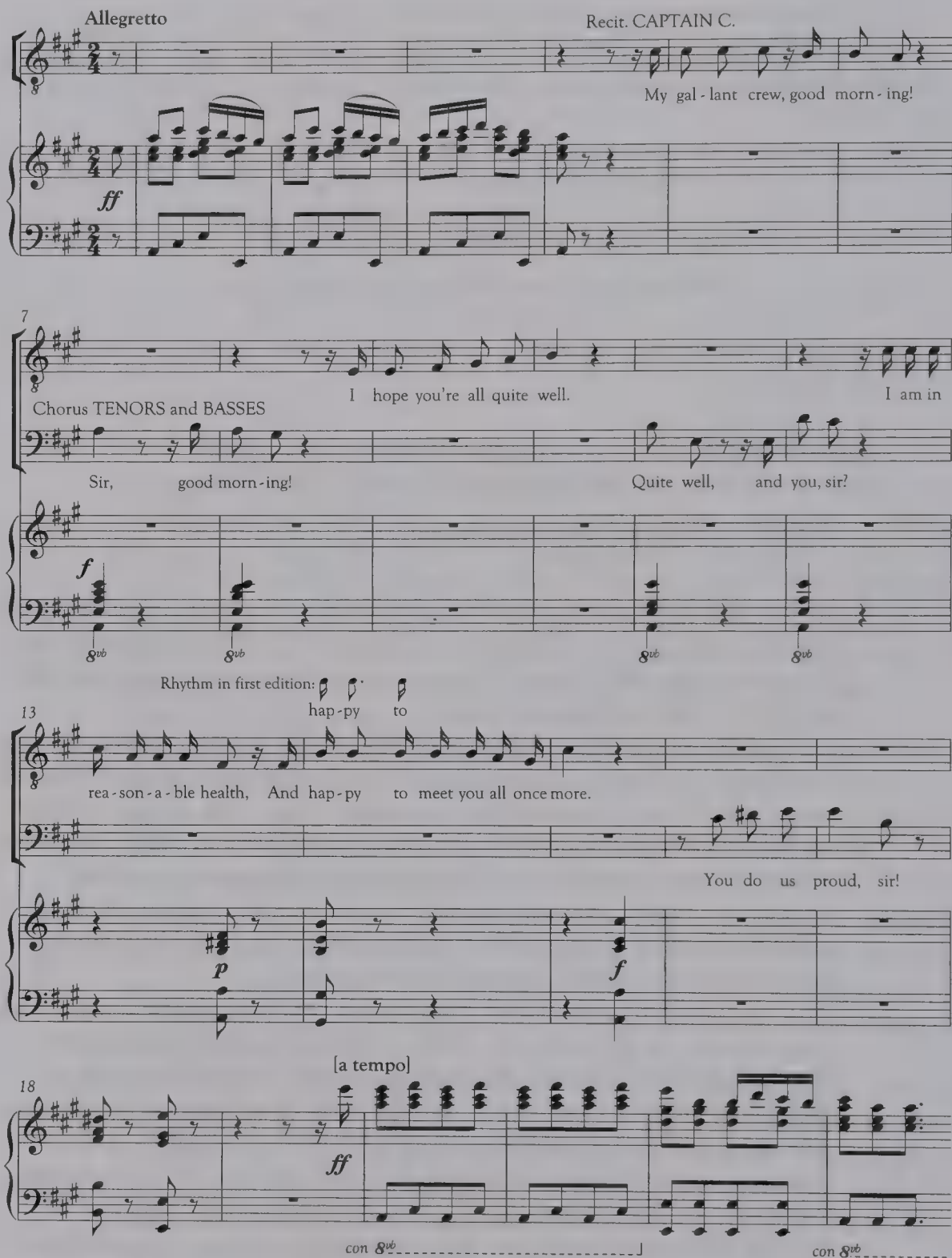
p *f*

[a tempo]

18

ff

con 8vb *con 8vb*



Example 4. Arthur Sullivan, *H.M.S. Pinafore* (1878, lib. W. S. Gilbert): no. 4, mm. 1–23.
Source: vocal score, Metzler & Co., 1878.

SIR J. PORTER

Here, take her, sir, and mind you treat her kind - ly!

5 JOSEPHINE

O bliss! O rap - ture! O bliss! O rap - ture!

RALPH

O bliss! O rap - ture! O bliss! O rap - ture!

9 SIR J.

Sad my lot and sor - ry, what shall I do? I can - not live a - lone.

12 CHORUS

HEBE

What will he do? He can - not live a - lone. Fear

What will he do? He can - not live a - lone.

Example 5. Arthur Sullivan, *H.M.S. Pinafore* (1878, lib. W. S. Gilbert): no. 20a, m. 1–no. 20b, m. 3. Source: vocal score, Metzler & Co., 1878 (first edition).

14

no-thing, While I live I'll not de-sert you, I'll soothe and com-fort your de-clin-ing days.

16 SIR J. HEBE SIR J.
No, don't do that. Yes, in-deed, I'd ra-ther. To-mor-row morn our vows shall all be plight-ed,

19 FINALE
Allegro vivace
Three liv-ing pairs on the same day u-ni-ted.
[sic] [sic]

Example 5. Continued

superimposed *parlante*, a term that could be used to describe the texture as a whole.⁷⁵ At the center is *recitativo obbligato*, which puts the text delivery and musical integrity in the most complex relationship. The sung lines generally have a *semplice* character, but the accompaniment develops its own motivic material (often as interludes between sung phrases).

These types of transitional texture are not rigid, but allow great flexibility: Two or even three may be linked in quick succession in the course of just a few lines of text. Generally speaking, however, for Sullivan, these textures characterize the dramatic moment. He tends to use *obbligato* and *arioso* to explore a character's emotions; the other two

seem more impersonal and matter-of-fact, and Sullivan employs them to call attention to a significant dramatic change. Coming as a marked change after spoken dialogue or in the midst of a longer number, *recitativo semplice* is an effective device for focusing the audience's attention. Sullivan uses it as an indicator that something is about to happen, and thus it is his analogue to Gilbert's rhyming quatrains (although the two collaborators' techniques do not invariably coincide). Most of the examples of recitative in *H.M.S. Pinafore* are of this very simple type. Example 4 gives the first entrance of Captain Corcoran in *H.M.S. Pinafore*. Sullivan begins with the orchestral ritornello of the song that is to follow ("I am the captain of the *Pinafore*"), but immediately arrests it in order to convey the recitative—in this case, four lines of *endecasillabi sciolti*—with the strings of the orchestra supplying only the sparsest punctuating chords.

Gilbert also intended the last dialogue exchanges before the act 2 finale of *H.M.S. Pinafore* to be set as recitative; Sullivan did so, although after the first night this was cut—and (with very minor changes) Gilbert's unrhymed verse text was spoken instead. As with the example above from the beginning of *The Sorcerer*, the versification is so natural that the audience—and indeed the actors speaking the lines—may not perceive a change from prose to verse, save for the final rhyming couplet. The text appears in the first-night libretto as:

Recit:

SIR JOSEPH.	Here—take her, sir, and mind you treat her kindly.	
RALPH & JOSEPHINE.	Oh bliss, oh rapture!	
SIR JOSEPH.		Sad my lot, and
	sorry,	
	What shall I do? I cannot live alone.	
ALL.	What will he do? He cannot live alone.	
HEBE.	Fear nothing—while I live I'll not desert you,	
	I'll soothe and comfort your declining days.	
SIR JOSEPH.	No, don't do that.	
HEBE.		Yes, but indeed I'd rather—
SIR JOSEPH (<i>resigned</i>).	To-morrow morn our vows shall all be plighted,	
	Three loving pairs on the same day united!	

It is impossible to say how early in the first production this recitative was replaced by spoken text; certainly by the second impression of both the printed libretto and the vocal score the change had been made. At

some point, Sullivan's setting of this text (given in ex. 5) was removed from the autograph score, but it must have been a part of the autograph when it served as the source for the 1883 German lithographed edition of the full score published by the Litolff Verlag as *Amor an Bord*.⁷⁶ Thereafter the stray leaf was lost. Sullivan made a few amendments to the text, with no attempt to preserve the regular *endecasillabo* patterns. The first edition vocal score, from which this example is derived, was produced hastily with insufficient proofreading; this recitative is riddled with errors in both music and text. As it was removed before the second impression, it was never subjected to careful correction.

The probable reason for replacing this recitative with nearly identical spoken dialogue is that Sullivan's *semplice* setting slows down the action considerably at the penultimate moment. Where the music signals "something is about to happen," the drama is already over; there remains nothing in the plot to be worked out in the finale. The last item to be resolved is the partnering of Sir Joseph with Hebe. Gilbert's inclination to have this set as recitative might have been to allow this final resolution to be worked out musically. This seems to have been part of Gilbert's initial concept of an operatic structure: *The Sorcerer* and *The Pirates of Penzance* both have the final denouement transpire as part of the through-composed finale. In *H.M.S. Pinafore*, this strategy does not work, and the composer failed to respond in a satisfactory way. Instead, the work ends with the finale tacked on as a generic moment of jubilation (with reprises of the show's hit tunes)—and this formula works well enough that it becomes Gilbert's pattern for all of his other collaborations with Sullivan except *The Yeomen of the Guard* and *The Gondoliers*. In *H.M.S. Pinafore*, the plot is resolved in the preceding number—when Little Buttercup confesses to switching the infants under her charge—and the dialogue is needed to unpack this revelation. A dramatically heightened recitative thereafter is not only superfluous but enervating, and the collaborators presumably recognized as much.

At almost the same moment that Gilbert and Sullivan were discarding the musical setting from this text, they were also rewriting a section of prose dialogue to be set musically. Significantly, this was the last exchange before Little Buttercup revealed her secret—and was thus an apt time for the music to signal "something is about to happen." Here Gilbert contrives for a return of musical material heard earlier in the act. Sir Joseph's horrified response to hearing Captain Corcoran's profanity was couched in rhyming couplets in an irregular meter:

SIR JOSEPH. My pain and my distress
 I find it is not easy to express;
 My amazement—my surprise—
 You may learn from the expression of my eyes!

It may be significant that Gilbert apparently gave no indication that this text should be recitative, although Sullivan set it in a fairly dry style—somewhere between *arioso* (as there is a recognizable melody) and *semplice*. Moments later in the show, once sailor Ralph Rackstraw has confessed his love for Josephine and is led off in chains, Gilbert planned for a short section of spoken dialogue. In this text, Sir Joseph begins: “Josephine, I cannot tell you the distress I feel at this most painful revelation.” Both Gilbert and Sullivan recognized that this closely paralleled the early passage and could be easily rewritten to allow the musical reprise:

SIR JOSEPH. My pain and my distress
 Again it is not easy to express.
 My amazement, my surprise,
 Again you may discover from my eyes.
 ALL. How terrible the aspect of his eyes!

Little Buttercup’s original prose interjection—“Hold! I have something to say to that”—became a rhyming couplet—“Hold! Ere upon your loss you lay much stress, / A long-concealèd crime I would confess”—followed by a segue into her song “A Many Years Ago.” The effect of this change was to link the octet “Farewell, My Own” with Buttercup’s legend to form a single, more complex musical unit. This is characteristic of Gilbert’s “operatic” structuring in his works with Sullivan. The opening portion of *The Gondoliers* is often cited as a remarkable example of continuous music with no spoken dialogue, but in fact each of the early operas contains a similar prolonged section in which the plot development is manifested in the midst of lengthy musical sequences.⁷⁷

It is difficult to determine precisely when this change to *H.M.S. Pinafore* was made. The dialogue version of the exchange remained in printed libretti for the next twenty-five years and more. This notwithstanding, the revision must have occurred quite early, because even the first state of the first edition of the vocal score (the only version to contain the recitative “Here, take her, sir,” discussed above) includes the setting of the newly written “My pain and my distress.” This setting appears in Sullivan’s autograph on a bifolio with no other music; it

could have been inserted at any time. A note in Sullivan's hand reads: "This follows immediately after the last note sung [of the preceding octet]. The few bars for winds I wrote on Friday to be cut." As the premiere was on a Saturday, it seems almost certain that the alteration was made within the first week of the run. This revision is very likely to be what Gilbert was referring to in his diary entry for 26 May 1875 (the morning after the *Pinafore* premiere): "Put some dialogue into recit."⁷⁸

Gilbert had conceded to Sullivan the final judgment regarding "all points bearing on the musical requirements of the pieces." The large majority of Gilbert's lyrics are in regular stanzas, accommodating (but by no means necessitating) strophic settings. For songs with no particular emotional interest—particularly the "patter songs"—Sullivan tends to treat the lyrics strophically. In most numbers in which there is any emotional element in the lyrics, the composer departed at least partially from a strophic norm. Gervase Hughes has perceptively discussed the remarkable differences between the two stanzas of "Now, Marco dear, / My wishes hear" from *The Gondoliers*, and many such examples could be cited.⁷⁹ In these through-composed settings, Sullivan typically writes an entirely new melody for the second or third stanza, generally setting it in a new key, particularly if it is allotted to another character with a different vocal range. In some cases, Gilbert anticipated this,⁸⁰ but in others, the degree of freedom the composer took in interpreting the text may well have surprised the librettist. Of particular interest are moments when recitative is introduced in a text that has no corresponding metrical change in the lyrics. The strategy is rhetorically effective, as it gives particular emphasis to the words set apart from the prevailing musical scheme.

Perhaps the most skillful example of this procedure is found near the beginning of *Ruddigore*. Dame Hannah recounts the legend of the Baronets of Ruddigore, doomed by a witch's curse either to commit a crime every day or to die. Gilbert settled on a lyric of four stanzas unusual only by the asymmetrical entrances by the chorus (after only the first and fourth stanzas). The first stanza introduces the character of Sir Rupert Murgatroyd, whose pastime was persecuting witches. The second stanza recounts a particular incident:

Once, on the village green,
 A palsied hag he roasted,
 And what took place, I ween,
 Shook his composure boasted,
 For, as the torture grim
 Seized on each withered limb,

The writhing dame,
 'Mid fire and flame
 Yelled forth this curse on him!

Gilbert clearly recognized that any choral refrain here would delay the curse itself; but Sullivan savors the dramatic moment with a fermata on an E5 (the singer's highest note in the opera) on the word *curse*. Otherwise the music of the first two stanzas is identical. The third stanza, which consists of a direct quotation of the witch's curse, is set in the parallel major, to an entirely new melody. The fourth stanza, however, is Sullivan's masterstroke. Gilbert's lyric is laid out in exactly the same metrical scheme as the rest of the song:

The prophecy came true:
 Each heir who held the title
 Had, every day, to do
 Some crime of import vital;
 Until with guilt o'erplied,
 "I'll sin no more!" he cried,
 And on the day
 He said that say
 In agony he died!

Sullivan begins the stanza with a return of the music of the first two—suggesting an AABA pattern, with the curse as the bridge—but then makes a sharp break from the predictable form. He recognized the important change in the character of the narration at the word *until*, where the overwhelming guilt of each baronet compels them to death. Here, for Sullivan, the human element is introduced. As twice before, the melody has wandered to the relative major (G), but here he interrupts its progress with an abrupt Neapolitan chord. With a striking chromatic gambit, the accompaniment slithering step-wise into a prolonged and intensified home dominant, Hannah switches to *recitativo semplice* to relate the consequences of the curse (ex. 6).

Sullivan's setting here is so different from the rest of the song that it is only by looking at the lyrics that one can perceive that Gilbert's versification remains unchanged in all four stanzas. (Incidentally, the chromaticism of this number foreshadows Sullivan's harmonic vocabulary in the second-act melodramatic ghost scene of this "supernatural opera.")

There are many other instances where Sullivan's settings ride rough-shod over Gilbert's verse structures. Sometimes the composer's choices were determined by musical factors rather than dramatic ones. It is difficult to argue that any harm was done, although in some instances

[Andante allegretto]

69

The pro - phe - cy came true: Each heir_ who held_____ the ti - tle Had, ev - 'ry day, to

74

do Some crime of im - port vi - tal; Un - til, with guilt o'er -

78

- plied, 'I'll sin no more!' he cried, And on the day He said that say, In

83

Chorus

a - go - ny he died! And thus, with sin - ning cloyed, Has

89

died each Mur - ga - troyd; And so_ shall fall, Both one_ and all, Each com - ing Mur - ga - troyd!

p *cresc.* *dim.*

Example 6. Arthur Sullivan, *Ruddigore* (1887, lib. W. S. Gilbert); no. 2, mm. 69–95. Source: vocal score, Chappell & Co., 1887.

the composer might well have been defying the tyranny of the librettist. In the opening sequence of *The Gondoliers*, for example, Gilbert constructs an exchange of eight rhyming *endecasillabo* couplets between the assembled characters on stage, but the couplets themselves are paired (yielding a rhyme scheme AA-AA-BB-BB-CC-CC-DD-DD).

During [the preceding] chorus ANTONIO, FRANCESCO, GIORGIO, and other Gondoliers have entered unobserved by the Girls—at first two, then two more, then four, then half a dozen, then the remainder of the Chorus.

RECITATIVE.

- FRANCESCO. Good morrow, pretty maids; for whom prepare ye
These floral tributes extraordinary?
FIAMETTA. For Marco and Giuseppe Palmieri,
The pink and flower of all the Gondolieri.
GIULIA. They're coming here, as we have heard but lately,
To choose two brides from us who sit sedately.
ANTONIO. Do all you maidens love them?
ALL. Passionately!
ANTONIO. These gondoliers are to be envied greatly!
GIORGIO. But what of us, who one and all adore you?
Have pity on our passion, I implore you!
FIAMETTA. These gentlemen must make their choice before you;
VITTORIA. In the meantime we tacitly ignore you.
GIULIA. When they have chosen two that leaves you plenty—
Two dozen we, and ye are four-and-twenty.
FIA. & VIT. Till then, enjoy your *dolce far niente*.
ANTONIO. With pleasure, nobody *contradicente*!

Gilbert labels this exchange "recitative." It is difficult to imagine what he might have had in mind. Coming immediately after the opening chorus, such a prolonged recitative section might have mitigated against maintaining the dramatic energy through the twenty-minute musical sequence. By this time in his professional relationship with Sullivan, Gilbert trusted Sullivan's dramatic instincts, recognizing that the mere word *recitative* would not bind the composer's hands. Nor did it: Sullivan sets this as a *parlante* texture, with the musical coherence residing in the charming orchestral serenade in the orchestra. The regular eight-bar phrases of the serenade, however, do not coincide rhyming sections of the lyrics. Rather, the musical sense divides the lyrics against the grain. After a four-bar introduction, the rhymes are disposed in five

mismatched units: AA–AABB–BBCC–CCDD–DD. Though Sullivan's setting undoes the structure of Gilbert's verse, the musical compensation is the frothy energy that propels the scene forward.

In other instances, Sullivan's setting glides over an abrupt break in the lyrics, or situates a more pronounced musical break at the more appropriate moment. In the second act of *Princess Ida*, Prince Hilarion and his two friends have stealthily invaded Castle Adamant, which houses Ida's university for women. The trio of intruders sings "In this college / Useful knowledge / Everywhere one finds"; then they enumerate some of the lessons they have learned as they tried to gain entrance: "We've learned that prickly cactus / Has the power to attract us / when we fall." After these comic exchanges, Gilbert added:

RECITATIVE.

FLORIAN. A Woman's college! maddest folly going!
 What can girls learn within its walls worth knowing?
 I'll lay a crown (the Princess shall decide it)
 I'll teach them twice as much in half-an-hour outside it!
 HILARION. Hush, scoffer; ere you sound your puny thunder,
 List to their aims, and bow your head in wonder!

Gilbert's recitative posed a challenge for Sullivan. It is a break from the preceding metrical scheme, and so suggested a change in the music; but the composer apparently wanted to reserve the biggest break for the mock-reproachful "Hush, scoffer," and so he delays *recitativo semplice* until Hilarion's interjection. (Indeed, Sullivan reserves even the term "recit." until he twice breaks from strict tempo, and thus uses *a tempo* both times to cancel it.) Florian's quatrain is set in *recitativo obbligato*. Although his first two lines present new material, his last two lines are accompanied by a return to the orchestral countermelody from the preceding section of the trio (ex. 7).

Another interesting instance of the composer's creative modification of what might otherwise be straightforward is found in *Trial by Jury*. The judge's entrance is heralded by a grand Handelian parody, Sullivan's setting of the chorus "All hail, great judge." This is followed by a prefatory quatrain intended to introduce his patter-song "When I, good friends, was called to the bar":

RECITATIVE—JUDGE.

For these kind words accept my thanks, I pray.
 A Breach of Promise we've to try to-day.
 But firstly, if the time you'll not begrudge,
 I'll tell you how I came to be a judge.

57 [Allegretto con moto]
FLORIAN

A Wo-man's col-lege! mad-dest fol-ly go-ing! What can girls

61 learn with-in these walls worth know-ing? I'll lay a crown (the

66 prin-cess shall de-cide it) I'll teach them twice as much in half-an-

70 Recit. HILARION

-hour out-side it! Hush, scof-fer; ere you sound your pu-ny

74 a tempo Recit. a tempo

thun-der, List to their aims, and bow your head in won-der!

Example 7. Arthur Sullivan, *Princess Ida* (1884, lib. W. S. Gilbert): no. 12, mm. 57–77. Source: vocal score, Chappell & Co., 1884.

In the libretto deposited with the Lord Chamberlain's office, the song directly follows this recitative.⁸¹ A *recitativo semplice* setting would have sufficed (as Sullivan was to use for the four prefatory quatrains quoted above, and many similar examples). In this instance, however, he set these lines as an *arioso* in the midst of the chorus. By following the quatrain with an extended interchange between the Judge and the chorus ("He'll tell us how. . ." "I'll tell you how. . ."; "Let me speak" "Hush! hush! he speaks!"), the composer exaggerates Gilbert's digression from the court's business. What might have been an unmemorable moment became a comic highlight, and it seems to have been prompted by the composer's instinct for timing the joke.

Sullivan's Ideal?

In the middle years of the collaboration, recitative drops off precipitously. Gilbert used it very sparingly in *Patience* and *Iolanthe*, even less in *The Mikado*, and Sullivan took little initiative to produce it on his own in these works. The early works manifest Sullivan working out on the page what might have become his operatic mode of declamation. The *Trial by Jury* example above illustrates Sullivan as comedian, yet his concern for developing the characters' emotions through the music is clear in *The Sorcerer*. Example 8 is Sullivan's setting of the lengthy *endecasillabi sciolti* passage after the opening chorus.

This does not display Sullivan at his best, but his investment in these first few minutes is effective. Mrs. Partlet is given *recitativo semplice*, although arguably with hints of *obbligato*, given the nature of the orchestral introduction and interludes. Constance's reply is set to *arioso*; this is apt, as it is the first display of emotion in the work. The recitative ostensibly serves as a transition from the D major of the opening chorus to the F major of Constance's song "When he is here." Mrs. Partlet's scarcely drifts from D, and then only at the remark "You alone are said and out of spirits" (m. 14), which moves toward F; with a German augmented sixth chord (m. 16), D reasserts itself. The ensuing interlude migrates to B major, where Constance remains until measure 28. Then, via the parallel minor, Sullivan returns to D, and from thence to G minor and its relative major B-flat—all accomplished through standard fifth progressions. Constance's G-sharp in measure 41 transforms the B-flat triad into the self-same German sixth sonority, and concludes the recitative abruptly on the dominant of D. No modulation has been effected.

At this point, as has been noted above, four lines of text were deleted. Sullivan moved directly to Constance's song. "Aria" is Gilbert's

Recit. MRS P.

Con - stance, my daugh - ter, why this strange de - pres - sion?

5

The vil - lagerings with sea - son - a - ble joy, Be - cause the young and

(8) 9

a - mia - ble A - lex - is, Heir to the great Sir Mar - ma - duke Point - dex - tre, Is plight - ed to A -

10

- line, The on - ly daugh - ter of An - na - bel - la, La - dy Sang - a - zure. You, you a - lone are

13 a tempo

sad and out of spi - rits; What is the rea - son? Speak, my daugh - ter, speak!

cresc.

Example 8. Arthur Sullivan, *The Sorcerer* (1877, lib. W. S. Gilbert): no. 2, m. 1–no. 2a, m. 9.
Source: vocal score, Metzler & Co., 1877.

17 **stringendo** Recit. CONSTANCE

Oh, mo-ther, do not ask! If my com -

22 **a tempo lento**

-plex-ion From red to white should change in quick suc - ces - sion, And then from white to

26

red, oh, take no no - tice! If my poor limbs should trem - ble with e - mo - tion,

31

Pay no at - ten - tion, mo - ther, it is no - thing! If long and deep - drawn sighs I

37

chance to ut - ter, Oh, heed them not, Their cause must ne'er be known!

Example 8. Continued

43 Andante

CONSTANCE

When he is

48

here, I sigh with plea - sure, When he is gone, I sigh with grief.

Example 8. Continued

word in the libretto, and this is perhaps indicative of an aspiration to a more ambitious class of work for the Comedy Opera Company; in any case, Sullivan's strophic ballad setting does not follow this lead.⁸² The introduction to the song is striking in its ambiguity: Sullivan willfully denied the audience a proper sense of either the meter or the key until the voice enters—whereupon the triple-meter F major seems mundane, capped by a pedestrian melody. If there is characterization of Constance in Sullivan's music, it is in the recitative and especially this introduction. Moreover, the introduction is repeated as a coda for the song; despite settling on a tonic chord, it leaves the sense of anxiety unresolved. After all of this, spoken dialogue comes as a relief: It can be more quickly delivered, but also seems more emotionally detached.

This example is longer than any recitative in Sullivan's earlier works; for the composer as well as the librettist, *The Sorcerer* marked a new venture into a yet-to-be-developed hybrid genre. At first this entailed intertwining old strategies of burlesque and opera rather than developing new ones. This example does not establish a model for Sullivan's subsequent work. He may have regarded it as an experiment that did not bear repeating; alternately, he may have found so much investment unnecessary, as his collaborator gradually integrated the lyrics into the drama so that the characterization could transpire

increasingly in set pieces. If Sullivan had an ideal for operatic recitative, he left little specific evidence of what his conception was. In an oft-quoted 1885 interview with the *San Francisco Chronicle*, Sullivan described the “opera of the future” as a mixed style that exploited the merits of French, Italian, and Wagnerian opera, while avoiding the excesses.⁸³ His vision is also recorded in his 9 January 1889 diary account of a conversation with Gilbert:

Explained . . . that I wanted to do some dramatic work on a larger musical scale, and that of course I should like to do it with him if he would but that the music must occupy a more important position than in our other pieces—that I wished to get rid of the *strongly marked rhythm* and *rhymed couplets*, and have words that would give a chance of developing musical *effects*. He seemed quite to assent to this.⁸⁴

Sullivan apparently felt that Gilbert’s librettos took too much of a lead in making musical decisions a priori. Gilbert’s “assent” was not consent; he wrote to Sullivan a few weeks later declining such a project, but suggesting Julian Sturgis as “the best serious librettist of the day.”⁸⁵ Sullivan asked Sturgis to assemble a libretto based on Walter Scott’s novel *Ivanhoe*, and Sturgis complied. Sullivan billed the work as “A Romantic Opera,” and in many ways, it shows the sort of eclectic musical influence that he said would be the future of opera. *Ivanhoe* is in no way an “opera of the future.” Had it appeared in 1861, it would have been a giant leap forward in English opera;⁸⁶ that it was composed three decades later seemed only to confirm to the most astute observers that Sullivan’s long career in the Savoy stable and producing works for the provincial choral festivals had left him out of touch with contemporary developments in the international operatic scene. (In his editorial role with Boosey’s Royal Edition, Sullivan had published no opera more recent than Gounod’s 1864 *Mireille*.)

Given, however, that Sullivan finally had a free hand in the construction of the libretto, *Ivanhoe*’s conservative versification corresponds with the conservative approach to the music. Sturgis’s libretto is mainly in blank verse, but also with a fair bit of iambic tetrameter, and with shorter lines at moments of dynamic stage action. “[Sturgis] gives way to considerable irregularity without apparent reason” was the assessment of *The Musical Times*.⁸⁷ Generally rhyme is reserved for the distinct metrical structures setting apart the intended set-pieces. This scheme allowed the composer maximum flexibility, but also challenged him to maintain the interest mainly through the music. This he accomplished with only indifferent success. Although there are not many discrete set-pieces in

the opera, many are so set apart from the prevailing texture (with concluding cadence and pause) that the piece can seem like a “number opera” prolonged by very lengthy transitions. All four of Sullivan’s transitional textures appear, but there is a much greater reliance on *obbligato* and *parlante* textures (both of which facilitate motivic recall and development in the orchestra). Sullivan seems to reach his “Romantic opera” ideal in the scenes with only a few characters on stage, where the music develops as a continuous duet (act 1, scene 2 and act 2, scene 3 particularly); but it is a cruel irony that the portion of the work most appreciated by the public at large was the comic scene that begins act 2. The scene was praised by the *Times*, but with the added grumble that it was the work’s “single tribute paid to the ears of the groundlings.”⁸⁸

Although there is no spoken dialogue, Sullivan’s treatment is closest to the extended musical passages of his “Savoy” style—and thus more immediately accessible to the “groundlings.” In the scene, Friar Tuck offers his hospitality to the disguised King Richard near St. Dunstan’s well, and a singing competition evolves into a hand-to-hand duel, interrupted by a call-to-arms. The whole scene comprises 563 measures. Of this, the orchestra has a 56-measure introduction and two substantial interludes that account for another 88 measures; the two stage songs of the competition (“I ask nor wealth nor courtier’s praise” and “Ho, jolly Jenkin”) together amount to 190 measures. The remainder—amounting to 40 percent of the scene—is a fluid mixture of *obbligato*, *semplice*, and *parlante* textures.

Ivanhoe may be imperfectly realized, but the libretto must represent the closest approximation to Sullivan’s vision for opera. The plot demands a considerable amount of stage action, leaving Sturgis little room for the characters’ emotional reflection; thus the comparative scarcity of lyrical set-pieces. Sullivan was compelled to realize the drama mainly through musical styles he was most accustomed to employing in transitional moments. These could be highly successful in the Savoy Operas, where they were thrown into high relief by the spoken dialogue; in *Ivanhoe* such textures posed a significant challenge for the composer, struggling to maintain musical interest throughout. His most palpable success was therefore with the material to which he had grown accustomed. Although *Ivanhoe* act 2, scene 1 seemed too light and popular for English grand opera to some initial reviewers, the comedy of the scene accords with Sullivan’s long-stated desire to set “humourous words . . . in a humourous (not serious) situation.” Perhaps this scene, with its vibrant mixture of musical textures, should be regarded as his ideal Savoy Opera moment—albeit not intended for the Savoy.⁸⁹

As the collaboration between Gilbert and Sullivan broke apart in the 1890s, recitative survived (in diminishing quantities) in their collaborations with others for the Savoy and similar venues. Thereafter, it soon disappeared entirely—both in librettists' intentions and in composers' realizations. Savoy Opera was succeeded in the 1890s by musical comedy, a style that interspersed song-and-dance routines within the action. It had no need for conventional, old-fashioned recitative to arrest the action. Indeed, recitative had become old-fashioned in opera; and even verse as the default expressive mode in the libretto was waning—with Debussy, Richard Strauss, Mascagni, and others turning to prose libretti.⁹⁰ In the popular theater, the artificial heightened declamation that recitative embodied was no longer desirable.

What has remained unrecognized is that the many varieties of recitative structures (Gilbert) and textures (Sullivan) manifested in their works were essential to the style they cultivated—and was briefly taken up by other collaborators. The demise of recitative at the turn of the century precipitated the ossification of Savoy Opera even more intensely than the deaths of Sullivan (1900) and Gilbert (1911). The genre could no longer survive as a living tradition; rather, it became a fixed object that could itself be referenced and misunderstood, appropriated and misappropriated, and made the subject of homage and parody—in exactly the way Gilbert or Sullivan had exploited parallels with early nineteenth-century Italian and French operas or Handelian heroism, or English pastoralism.⁹¹ Although the blame for this ossification has been laid on the staid and scrupulous performances of the D'Oyly Carte Opera Company, which jealously guarded the Gilbert and Sullivan copyrights,⁹² it will not suffice to explain the sudden disappearance of imitators in the Savoy style. Victor Herbert was perhaps the last to try to employ similar means to captivate the same audience that had gathered around the Savoy premieres (albeit in America), and even he set this aside to follow the new fashion.

Several decades later, Ralph Vaughan Williams, then in his fifties, attempted his overt homage to Savoy Opera, *The Poisoned Kiss*. It was composed in the late 1920s without a commission, and it remained unperformed until 1936. It was then published by Oxford University Press, but it proved unmarketable. Hubert Foss, head of the OUP music department, continued to promote it:

It is described in the printed score as a "Romantic Extravaganza." It is far more than this—it is a farce with music, but not a farce of the conventional kind. It can be compared to *The Sorcerer* of Gilbert [&] Sullivan, but the love interest is far stronger, there is much more

romance, and it does not “date” to a particular period. This is a fairy story Ruritania: in fact, it has been described as a fairy story for grown-ups, and has been suggested as a kind of annual Christmas show, like “Where the Rainbow Ends” but for an adult public.⁹³

(Foss’s claim that the work “does not ‘date’” was short-sighted in the extreme; the original version of the work now seems very much a period piece, and as such it now wears rather better than the 1957 revision in which the original prose dialogue was discarded and replaced with rhyming couplets devised by Ursula Vaughan Williams.) The description “Romantic Extravaganza” usefully blurs the generic boundaries it straddles. Several months into the project, Vaughan Williams wrote to his librettist Evelyn Sharp about the nature of the work they were trying to produce. This was Sharp’s first experience writing a libretto, and he felt she needed instruction:

We’ve really got to make up our minds whether this is to be a musical comedy or real comic opera. In musical comedy (or ballad opera) the music is purely incidental, i.e. the music c^d be left out and the drama w^d remain intact. In comic opera at certain points (usually the finale) the drama is carried on through the music—the only difference this makes to the librettist is that in certain places the drama goes on in verse & not in prose—& usually in short sentences not long songs.⁹⁴

Subsequently, the composer made clear that a comic opera was what he intended to write, and the novice librettist followed his instructions. If by “short sentences” Vaughan Williams was asking for verse appropriate for recitative, he did not get much of it, and much of that he decided to have spoken over music.

The initial reviews in the nonspecialist magazines and newspapers recognized the Savoy Opera aspirations of the composer. For the *Eastern Daily Press*, it was “a most promising beginning of another tradition comparable to that of the Savoy operas.” According to *The Spectator*, the “successor to Sullivan, who has been lacking to the theatre for the past generation, has surprisingly appeared in the person of the composer of ‘Job’ and the Symphony in F minor,” and the *Birmingham Post* recorded that “Dr. Vaughan Williams’ score is fascinating, enjoying himself with music [he] can be gently funny. Vaughan Williams now gently pulls Sullivan’s shapely leg.”⁹⁵

Perhaps the most significant reason that the piece did not succeed was that there was simply no market for ersatz Savoy Opera, a genre whose time had come and gone. Another important reason is that, unlike Sullivan, Vaughan Williams’s own musical voice could not be

(90) [ANGELICA] (She yawns and stretches herself wearily) **E** senza misura

How bored I am in this en - chant - ed for - est!

94

What chance has a - ny girl of be - ing court - ed here? To serve his vast - ly o - ver - rat - ed daugh - ter

(95)

96

By Dip - sa - cus I was trans - port - ed here, And now, a - mong my ma - ny un - paid du - ties

(96)

I must con - coct all kinds of poi - son mix - tures, and feed her pam - pered rep - tile pets, in -

[Bar-line in AUT] [Bar-line lacking in AUT]

97

- stead of go - ing ev - 'ry eve - ning to the pic - tures! _____

Example 9. Ralph Vaughan Williams, *The Poisoned Kiss* (1927–29, lib. Evelyn Sharp): no. 3, mm. 90–98. *Sources:* vocal score, Oxford University Press, 1936; autograph score, BL: Add. Mss. 50412. “The Poisoned Kiss,” music by Ralph Vaughan Williams and libretto by Evelyn Sharp. © Oxford University Press 1936. Revised edition © 1981. Extract reproduced by permission. All rights reserved.

moderated enough to fit within such a narrowly circumscribed style, and the result is a curious mixture of incompatible characteristics. Nowhere is this more obvious than his recitatives, which float above drone pitches. Example 9 comes from the midst of Angelica's first song, as she pauses to complain about her mistress Tormentilla. The *senza misura* indication is necessary in order to derive anything speech-like from the rhythm notated, although Sullivan displays similar disregard for the tyranny of the bar line in the sections he labels as "recitative," as examples 5 and 8 illustrate.

Sullivan was willing to interrupt a song with a recitative for dramatic effect, as in the *Ruddigore* example above, but Angelica's shift here has no such justification. Vaughan Williams seems to have been prompted merely by the problem of the irregular meter of text that does not fit into the musical ideas on either side. In his contemporaneous *Riders to the Sea*, the musical declamation is superbly innovative—like *Pelléas et Mélisande*, a "play set to music." The few recitatives of *The Poisoned Kiss*, however, flounder.⁹⁶

As putative Savoy Opera, *The Poisoned Kiss* suffers from being the brainchild of a composer only; he engaged his librettist with too clear an idea of what he wanted, expecting the librettist to supply the catalyst. For Vaughan Williams, *The Poisoned Kiss* was a "labour of love,"⁹⁷ but for Sharp it was mainly an interesting opportunity to try a different sort of a project alongside a great composer. There was little creative tension, and certainly no warring about how to make the work persuasive on its own terms.⁹⁸ In the jousting between Sullivan and Gilbert, however, the tension is manifest throughout the works. Their recitatives—and the mismatched intentions, sometimes, of the librettist and the composer—demonstrate the composer as dramatic thinker as much as they show the librettist making his own musical decisions. The latter point is perhaps the real surprise. Clearly, the operatic nature of Gilbert's libretti goes well beyond plot into structural elements and prosody. The significance of recitative for both the composer and the librettist has been underestimated.

When Gilbert was awarded a knighthood in 1907, he complained that the newspaper account described him as a "playwright"—a craftsman—rather than as a "dramatist," which he felt would have better captured the artistic nature of his role.⁹⁹ Certainly, Gilbert earned both labels, but neither encompasses the particular skills and sensibilities he employed in his work with Sullivan. It is time that he be recognized as a *librettist* in the truest (and not just the incidental) sense.

Notes

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1. In addition to the stage works, Gilbert adapted the libretto for Sullivan's "sacred musical drama" *The Martyr of Antioch* for the 1880 Leeds Festival. Sullivan's songs also include three of Gilbert's texts: "The Distant Shore" (1874), "The Love That Loves Me Not" (1875), and "Sweethearts" (1875).
2. For a reappraisal of Sullivan's generic influence, see Martin Yates, "Men of the Theatre—Arthur Sullivan and Benjamin Britten," in *Sullivan Perspektiven—Arthur Sullivans Opern, Kantaten, Orchester- und Sakralmusik*, ed. Albert Gier, Meinhard Saremba, and Benedict Taylor (Essen, Germany: Oldib-Verlag, 2012), 315–34.
3. On this confusion generally, see Karl Gänzl, *The British Musical Theatre* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 1:v.
4. On the turbulent history of the Comedy Opera Company, see Michael Ainger, *Gilbert and Sullivan: A Dual Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 130–95. A single review of *The Sorcerer* employs "comedy-opera" to designate its genre; see the perceptive but anonymous review in *Monthly Musical Record* (1 January 1878): 8.
5. H. F. Frost, "Music—Opéra Comique Theatre—'The Sorcerer,'" *The Academy* (24 November 1877).
6. Gilbert regularly used the adjective *original* to describe works even transparently modeled on those of others. In his first published book of plays (which employs *original* in the title), he appends the following disclaimer: "It has been generally held, I believe, that if a dramatist uses the mere outline of an existing story for dramatic purposes, he is at liberty to describe his play as 'original.'" W. S. Gilbert, *Original Plays*, U.S. ed., first series (New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co., 1876), [5].
7. On the target demographics Carte intended to attract to the Savoy, see Regina B. Oost, *Gilbert and Sullivan: Class and the Savoy Tradition, 1875–1896* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009), 15–33, *passim*.
8. On these later works, see William Parry, "Identity Crisis and the Search for English Opera: The Savoy Theatre in the 1890s," in *The Cambridge Companion to Gilbert and Sullivan*, ed. David Eden and Meinhard Saremba (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge

University Press, 2009), 22–35. The early chronicle of the wider Savoy repertory is S. J. Adair Fitz-Gerald, *The Story of the Savoy Opera: A Record of Events and Productions* (London: S. Paul & Co., 1924).

9. Sullivan's diary entry for 29 January 1884; quoted in Ainger, *Gilbert and Sullivan: A Dual Biography*, 226.

10. Sullivan to Carte, 28 March 1884; quoted in Ainger, *Gilbert and Sullivan: A Dual Biography*, 230.

11. Sullivan to Gilbert, 2 April 1884; quoted in Ainger, *Gilbert and Sullivan: A Dual Biography*, 230.

12. Percy Fitzgerald, *The Savoy Opera and the Savoyards* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1894), 206f.

13. Unsigned review, "Music. The Week. Savoy Theatre—"Iolanthe,"" *The Athenæum* (2 December 1882): 743.

14. Gilbert to Sullivan, 31 March 1889; quoted in Ainger, *Gilbert and Sullivan: A Dual Biography*, 291.

15. Sullivan to Gilbert, 27 March 1889; quoted in Arthur Jacobs, *Arthur Sullivan: A Victorian Musician*, 2nd ed. (Aldershot, UK: Scolar Press, 1992), 290.

16. Reginald Allen, *The First-Night Gilbert and Sullivan* (New York: Heritage Press, 1958), xviii. The libretto of *The Pirates of Penzance* was not published until many months after the premiere(s); consequently, Allen resorts to philological gymnastics to posit a "first night" text.

17. Allen, *The First-Night Gilbert and Sullivan*, xvi.

18. David Russell Hulme, ed., *Ruddigore* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2000), ix. See also Ronald Broude, "The Gilbert & Sullivan Critical Edition and the Full Scores That Never Were," *Textual Cultures* 3, no. 2 (Fall 2008): 71–89, esp. 82.

19. See, for example, David A. Randall, "Gilbert and Sullivan's *The Gondoliers* and *Princess Ida*," in *W. S. Gilbert: A Century of Scholarship and Commentary*, ed. John Bush Jones (New York: New York University Press, 1970), 257–72; J. B. Jones, "The Printing of *The Grand Duke*: Notes Toward a Gilbert Bibliography," in *W. S. Gilbert: A Century of Scholarship and Commentary*, 273–84; and, more recently, Hal Kanthor, "Collecting American Librettos," Gilbert & Sullivan Web Archive, http://math.boisestate.edu/gas/articles/american_librettos/librettos.pdf.

20. New York and Williamstown, MA: Broude Bros., 1994–present. This project is a massive undertaking. To date, the only publications have been *Trial by Jury* (ed. Steven Ledbetter, 1994), *H.M.S. Pinafore* (ed. Percy M. Young, 2003), and *Iolanthe* (ed. Gerald Hendrie, in press), together with a separate issue reconstructing a discarded number from *H.M.S. Pinafore*, "Reflect, My Child" (ed. Bruce I. Miller and Helga Perry, 1999).

21. "Collaborating with Sir Arthur Sullivan: A Chat with Mr. W. S. Gilbert," *Cassell's Saturday Journal* (21 March 1894): 522; see also his description in "How They Write Their Plays: Mr. W.S. Gilbert," *St. James's Gazette*, 23 June 1893, 5.

22. Harry How, "Illustrated Interviews, no. IV—Mr W. S. Gilbert," *The Strand Magazine* 2 (October 1891): 337.

23. British Library (henceforth BL), Add. Ms. 49300, Gilbert Papers, vol. XII, ff. 1–88.
24. For an examination of the preproduction text of *Utopia (Limited)*, see John Wolfson, *Final Curtain: The Last Gilbert and Sullivan Operas* (London: Chappell & Co., 1976), 111–207.
25. Andrew Crowther goes so far as to suggest that, in this instance, “If Gilbert and Sullivan were working on the opera together in the same room, words and music may have in places been composed more or less simultaneously.” See Crowther, *Gilbert of Gilbert & Sullivan: His Life and Character* (Stroud, Gloucestershire, UK: History Press, 2011), 151.
26. This manuscript is in the Morgan’s Gilbert and Sullivan Collection, lacking a shelf mark. The most complete published description of it is in Reginald Allen, *Sir Arthur Sullivan: Composer & Personage* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1975), 105; illustration, 101.
27. Arthur Lawrence, *Sir Arthur Sullivan: Life Story, Letters, and Reminiscences* (Chicago and New York: Herbert S. Stone, 1900), 105.
28. Gilbert’s “operetta” of the same name was published in *Fun* on 11 April 1868. See W. S. Gilbert, *The Bab Ballads*, ed. James Ellis (Cambridge, MA: Harvard/Belknap Press, 1970), 157–59, 340.
29. Nonetheless, the licensing copy of the libretto deposited at the Lord Chamberlain’s office lacks some songs in the final version, so it is clear that the text read to Sullivan was still subject to some alteration during composition. Differences between the licensing copy and the text of Sullivan’s autograph are scrutinized in Steven Ledbetter, “*Trial’s* Tribulations,” in *The Creative Process, Studies in the History of Music* (New York: Broude Bros., 1992), 3:217–46.
30. Steven Ledbetter, ed., *Trial by Jury, Gilbert & Sullivan: The Operas* (New York: Broude Bros., 1994), 1:157. This edition presents as its main text the version of the 1884 revival, hence the significance of the third edition of the libretto.
31. Gayden Wren, *A Most Ingenious Paradox: The Art of Gilbert and Sullivan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 220–22.
32. For Sullivan’s celebrated discussion of text setting, particularly his exploration of various rhythmic treatments of the same lyric, see Lawrence, *Sir Arthur Sullivan*, 224.
33. Gilbert to Sullivan, 30 March 1884; quoted in Jacobs, *Arthur Sullivan: A Victorian Musician*, 194.
34. Gilbert to Sullivan, 5 May 1884; quoted in Jacobs, *Arthur Sullivan: A Victorian Musician*, 197.
35. Gilbert to Sullivan, 5 May 1884; quoted in Jacobs, *Arthur Sullivan: A Victorian Musician*, 198.
36. On librettist/composer relationships in Italian opera in the nineteenth century (and the textual consequences thereof), see Philip Gossett, *Divas and Scholars: Performing Italian Opera* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 33–48.
37. Sullivan to Gilbert, 1 April 1884, quoted in Jacobs, *Arthur Sullivan: A Victorian Musician*, 194.

38. BL, Add. Ms. 49298, Gilbert Papers, vol. X, f. 56.
39. *The Gondoliers*, ed. David Lloyd-Jones (London: Eulenburg, 1984), xii, xxviii.
40. Unless otherwise noted, all quotations from Gilbert's libretti are taken from Allen, *The First-Night Gilbert and Sullivan* (in turn derived from early printed libretti). Typographical idiosyncrasies of these quotations are reproduced here; while the printed libretti are more standardized, the manuscript sources exhibit considerable variety in format.
41. For an extensive discussion of the collaborative genesis of *The Gondoliers*, see Ainger, *Gilbert and Sullivan: A Dual Biography*, 294–301.
42. Wolfson, *Final Curtain*, 9–33, 67–82; Jane W. Stedman, *W. S. Gilbert: A Classic Victorian and His Theatre* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 211–20; and Stedman, "The Genesis of *Patience*," *Modern Philology* 66, no. 1 (1968): 48–58 (repr. in Jones, *W. S. Gilbert: A Century of Scholarship*, 285–313, but now more widely available in electronic form in its original source); and Crowther, *Gilbert of Gilbert & Sullivan*, 157–71.
43. British Library, Add. MS 49304, Gilbert Papers, vol. XVI, ff. 48–69. This source is transcribed and analyzed in Stedman, "The Genesis of *Patience*."
44. Ellis, *The Bab Ballads*, 120–21, 333–34.
45. See, for example, the two options for the trio "How say you maiden" from *The Yeomen of the Guard*, reproduced in Leslie Bailey, *The Gilbert & Sullivan Book* (London: Cassell & Co., 1952), 288. Moreover, although the letter reproduced there includes the text that Sullivan set, the text of the first-night libretto provides a third version; see Allen, *The First-Night Gilbert and Sullivan*, 322. This shows Gilbert at his most compliant. If Sullivan had his share of frustrations working with Gilbert, his 1898 collaboration with Arthur Pinero and J. Comyns Carr, *The Beauty Stone*, proved to be the most difficult working experience. Sullivan wrote: "Both Pinero and Carr, gifted and brilliant men, with no experience in writing for music, and yet obstinately declining to accept any suggestion from me, as to form and construction. Told them that the musical construction of the piece is capable of great improvement, but they declined to alter. 'Quod scripsi, scripsi,' they both say." Quoted in Herbert Sullivan and Newman Flower, *Sir Arthur Sullivan: His Life, Letters, and Diaries* (London: Cassell, 1927), 245.
46. On Gilbert's early works, see Stedman, *W. S. Gilbert*; and Andrew Crowther, *Contradiction Contradicted: The Plays of W. S. Gilbert* (London: Associated University Presses, 2000). On these genres generally, see Michael R. Booth, ed., *English Plays of the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 5: *Pantomimes, Extravaganzas, and Burlesques* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1976), 1–63.
47. Late in life, Gilbert claimed, "A blank verse play appeals most powerfully to me, because in every line I am doing all I know. In writing prose plays one is apt to let the pen be carried away by comedy scenes. When you have got to put everything into iambic form and to remember the high-sounding and grandiose conditions of blank verse you must honestly put your best into it. Blank verse always takes the best work out of me." See "Interview with Mr. W. S. Gilbert: The Press, the Play, and the Players," *Edinburgh Evening Dispatch*, 5 October 1897, 2.
48. Unsigned review, "Mr. Gilbert as Dramatist," *The Theatre*, 26 June 1877; repr. in Jones, *W. S. Gilbert: A Century of Scholarship*, 7–16, quote on 10. Gilbert's friend William Archer was more direct: "As a rule they are correctly enough measured off into

ten syllables, but there is not one whose cadence lingers in the memory." William Archer, *English Dramatists of Today* (1882), repr. in Jones, W. S. *Gilbert: A Century of Scholarship*, 17–49, quote on 28.

49. *Warne's Christmas Annual* (1866), 50.

50. See, for example, Alan Fischler, "Gilbert and Donizetti," *Opera Quarterly* 11 (1994): 29–42; and Audrey Williamson, *Gilbert and Sullivan Opera: An Assessment*, 2nd ed. (London: Marion Boyars, 1982).

51. James Brooks Kuykendall, "Motives and Methods in Sullivan's Allusions," in Eden and Saremba, *The Cambridge Companion to Gilbert and Sullivan*, 122–35.

52. Stedman, W. S. *Gilbert*, 56.

53. Reproduced in Frederic Woodbridge Wilson, *An Introduction to the Gilbert and Sullivan Operas* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1989), 15.

54. Sullivan's diary, 30 December 1879; quoted in Jacobs, *Arthur Sullivan: A Victorian Musician*, 137.

55. BL, Add. Ms. 49318, Gilbert Papers, vol. XXX, f. 65b.

56. On Reed and his company, see Jane W. Stedman, ed., *Gilbert before Sullivan: Six Comic Plays* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 1–51.

57. "Vernacular" is significant, as English opera employed spoken dialogue primarily. When Michael Balfe translated his *The Bohemian Girl* (1843) into Italian as *La Zingara* (1858) for production at Her Majesty's Theatre, Haymarket, he was obliged to supply recitatives in place of all the spoken dialogue. See Michael Hurd, "Opera: 1834–1865," in *The Athlone History of Music in Britain*, vol. 5: *The Romantic Age: 1800–1914*, ed. Nicholas Temperley (London: Athlone, 1981), 315.

58. Concerning recitative in English opera, see George Biddlecombe, *English Opera from 1834 to 1864 with Particular Reference to the Works of Michael Balfe* (New York: Garland, 1994), 51f. Recitative in lighter Victorian musical theater has not been a subject of intense study; my own survey suggests that it was more prominent in works that intentionally spoofed Continental operatic traditions. Like Gilbert and Clay's *Ages Ago*, Burnand and Sullivan's *Cox and Box* (1867) is a case in point.

59. See Yopie Prins, "Victorian Meters," in *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Poetry*, ed. Joseph Bristow (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 89–113; also Derek Attridge, "Classical Meters in Modern Languages," in *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ed. Alex Preminger and T. V. F. Brogan, 4th ed., (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 202–4.

60. Ainger, *Gilbert and Sullivan: A Dual Biography*, 21.

61. Ainger, *Gilbert and Sullivan: A Dual Biography*, 253.

62. Edith A. Browne, *W. S. Gilbert* (London: John Lane, 1907), 9.

63. Gilbert to Archer, 5 October 1904; quoted in Crowther, *Contradiction Contradicted*, 136.

64. In the exceptionally small literature on Gilbert's prosody, most notable is Robert Fink, "Rhythm and Text-Setting in *The Mikado*" in *19th-Century Music* 14 (1990): 31–47. Wren, in *A Most Ingenious Paradox*, covers aspects of text-setting sporadically

throughout. See also Jeffrey Kresky, "A Note on Gilbert by Sullivan" on the Gilbert and Sullivan Web Archive, <http://math.boisestate.edu/gas/articles/kresky/kresky.htm>.

65. It is the rhyme—which Gilbert invariably begins with the last accented syllable—that establishes that Gilbert is regarding "General" in Mabel's last line to have its prosodic accent on the final syllable; if he had meant "Gen-er-al" (as set by Sullivan), the corresponding rhyme would have had to account for the entire word.

66. Derek Attridge, *Poetic Rhythm: An Introduction* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 103.

67. Bernard Richards, *English Poetry of the Victorian Period, 1830–1890* (London: Longman, 1988), 84.

68. For Gilbert's most extreme triple rhymes, see "Something like Nonsense Verses" (1865), in Ellis, *The Bab Ballads*, 55; and for a Gilbertian recitative consisting entirely of rhymed *endecasillabi sdrucchioli* couplets, see "O luck unequalled" in *The Mountebanks* (1892, with music by Alfred Cellier).

69. For a useful summary of operatic prosody, see Julian Budden, *The Operas of Verdi* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 2:17–19; for broader treatments, see Christopher Kleinhenz, "Italian Prosody," in *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, 651–54; and Giuseppe Sangirardi and Francesco de Rosa, *Breve guida all metrica Italiana* (Milan, Italy: Sansoni, 2002), 6–13, 45–48, and 146–49.

70. T. V. F. Brogan and Edward R. Weismiller, "Blank Verse," in *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, 137f.

71. A thorough statistical analysis for early literature is Philip W. Timberlake, *The Feminine Ending in English Blank Verse* (Menasha: [author], 1931).

72. Without rhyme, it is impossible to prove that this is not a *nonario sdrucchiolo* line ("hope-less-ly"). Gilbert's strict adherence to the line lengths for the rest of the passage makes a single *nonario* unlikely.

73. The line counts are based on the printed libretti and do not include verses apparently not set by Sullivan; for example, the unrhymed recitative of Luiz and Casilda intended for *The Gondoliers*, quoted above. Two instances of lengthy unrhymed recitative verse by other librettists working with Sullivan should be mentioned. The longest is a twenty-six-line unrhymed recitative in *The Beauty Stone*—"Who stands within?"—with libretto by Carr and Pinero. This passage is in standard Victorian blank verse rather than Gilbertian *endecasillabi*; nonetheless, as a lengthy example of unrhymed verse recitative it is remarkable. Intriguingly, a few of Basil Hood's recitative texts in *The Rose of Persia* and *The Emerald Isle* include short passages in unrhymed *endecasillabi*—the only unambiguous instances by another Savoy librettist.

74. For example, from *Iolanthe*, act 1, "Nay, tempt me not. / To rank I'll not be bound: / In lowly cot / Alone is virtue found!"—which might be parsed as two ten-syllable lines, but Gilbert lays it out as 4.6.4.6. Gilbert seems have been punctilious with his syllable counting, so that when a line within an otherwise consistent structure fails to scan an alteration is likely to have been made by the composer. Thus, in the second act of *The Pirates of Penzance*, the meter is compromised by a fragment not set by Sullivan (here shown with strike-through):

RECITATIVE—GENERAL

Then Frederic, let your escort lion-**hearted**
 Be summoned to receive a general's **blessing**
 Ere they depart upon their dread **adventure**.

FREDERIC. Dear sir, they come!

ALL.

Good luck! ~~they bear them bravely~~

75. An outstanding example in the Savoy Operas is in the act 1 finale of *The Yeomen of the Guard*. The twenty lines of *endecasillabi sciolti* beginning "Leonard! / I beg your pardon? / Don't you know me?" is parlante throughout. On parlante as a texture, see Joseph Kerman, *Opera as Drama* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), 136–39.

76. Recent editions that include Sullivan's recitative setting are *H.M.S. Pinafore in Full Score*, ed. Carl Simpson and Ephraim Hammett Jones (Mineola: Dover Publications, 2002), 232; and Percy M. Young, ed., *H.M.S. Pinafore, Gilbert & Sullivan: The Operas*, vol. 3 (New York: Broude Bros., 2003), A:318–21 and B:72.

77. Not counting the sometimes lengthy first-act finales, examples include *The Sorcerer*, act 2, beginning at "I rejoice that it's decided" (193 lines); *H.M.S. Pinafore*, act 2, beginning at "Carefully on tiptoe stealing" (103 lines); *The Pirates of Penzance*, act 1, beginning at "Stop, ladies, pray!" (216 lines); *Patience*, act 1, beginning at "In a doleful train" (50 lines); *Iolanthe*, act 1, beginning at "My well-loved Lord and Guardian dear" (109 lines). By comparison, the opening scene of *The Gondoliers* runs for 240 lines set to music before any dialogue is spoken.

78. Quoted in Young, *H.M.S. Pinafore*, B:17–18. Young does not reach the same conclusion.

79. Gervase Hughes, *The Music of Arthur Sullivan* (London: Macmillan, 1960), 32f.

80. See Jacobs, *Arthur Sullivan: A Victorian Musician*, 203, regarding the contrapuntal trio "I am so proud" in *The Mikado*; and Ainger, *Gilbert and Sullivan: A Dual Biography*, 297ff, concerning Gilbert's adjustments to "In a contemplative fashion" in *The Gondoliers*.

81. See Ledbetter, "Trial's Tribulations," 231.

82. Gilbert's used this word previously on only two occasions: in "Columbus dear, thy knock I hear" in *Ages Ago* (1869) and "With a sense of deep emotion" in *Trial by Jury*. As here, in neither of these cases was the usage apt.

83. "A Talk with the Composer of 'Pinafore.'" *San Francisco Chronicle*, 22 July 1885. The interview is quoted *in extenso* on http://diamond.boisestate.edu/gas/sullivan/interviews/cpsr_pf.html.

84. Sullivan diary, 9 January 1889; quoted in Jacobs, *Arthur Sullivan: A Victorian Musician*, 287.

85. Gilbert to Sullivan, 20 February 1889; quoted in Jacobs, *Arthur Sullivan: A Victorian Musician*, 288.

86. A similar observation was made by the *Times* when Thomas Beecham briefly revived the opera in 1910: "To be archaic is to be interesting, but to be merely old-

fashioned is a sin for which there is no forgiveness." Unsigned review (very likely Ernest Walker), "Royal Opera: 'Ivanhoe,'" *Times*, 9 March 1910.

87. Unsigned review, "Ivanhoe," *Musical Times* 32 (1 March 1891): 150.

88. Unsigned review, "The Royal English Opera-House: 'Ivanhoe,'" *Times*, 2 February 1891.

89. It should be noted that Fuller Maitland, in his fierce obituary article on Sullivan, praises this scene among others as "in the vein of true music-drama," although he takes exception to Richard's "very feeble ballad." J. A. Fuller Maitland, "Sir Arthur Sullivan," *Cornhill Magazine* 10 (1901): 300–9, quote on 308.

90. See Hugh MacDonald, "The Prose Libretto," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 1 (1989): 155–66.

91. Raymond Knapp hesitates to cite the "influence" of the Gilbert and Sullivan works on the American musical, preferring instead to speak of their "legacy." Thus, individual aspects of the Savoy Operas are replicated in various ways in subsequent works (for different reasons); the tradition is thus gone but not forgotten. See Knapp, "How great thy charm, thy sway how excellent!": Tracing Gilbert and Sullivan's Legacy on the American Musical," in *The Cambridge Companion to Gilbert and Sullivan*, 201–15. For an even-handed intellectual perspective of the Savoy tradition in the 1920s, see Horace Shipp, "Upon Gilbert and Sullivan and 'Do-It-Again-Daddy-ism,'" *The Sackbut* 4 (1923–24): 244–46.

92. For example, Ian Bradley, *Oh Joy! Oh Rapture: The Enduring Phenomenon of Gilbert and Sullivan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 27–52.

93. Foss to Laurie Phillips, 16 August 1940, OUP Music Dept., file 1106, reproduced by permission of the Secretary to the Delegates of Oxford University Press. Foss resigned from his position at OUP in November 1941, leaving *The Poisoned Kiss* with no in-house champions, but the same file includes correspondence from July and August 1943 recording that Foss was still trying to mount a production and was negotiating with the Press on what terms this might be done. Concerning Foss and his work at OUP, see Duncan Hinnells, *An Extraordinary Performance: Hubert Foss, Music Publishing, and the Oxford University Press* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1998).

94. Vaughan Williams to Sharp, 18 August 1927; in Hugh Cobbe, ed., *Letters of Ralph Vaughan Williams 1895–1958* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2008), 156.

95. All of these are excerpted in a collection of press reviews in the archive of the OUP Music Dept., file 1106.

96. Edmund Rubbra noted this discrepancy in "The Later Vaughan Williams," *Music & Letters* 18 (1937): 1–8, esp. 6. A closer example to a nouveau-Savoy recitative style, perhaps, would be those in Britten's *Albert Herring* (1947).

97. Vaughan Williams described the project thus in a letter to Sharp dated 23 July, probably 1930 (BL, Ms Mus 161, f. 90). In his "Musical Autobiography" (1950), the composer recalled that "I never showed [Gustav Holst] my comic opera, because he never would have been able to understand how I could at the same time consider it trivial and yet want to write it." Quoted in Hubert Foss, *Ralph Vaughan Williams: A Study* (London: George G. Harrop, 1950), 18–38; quote on 38. In fact, in his youth, Holst had attempted his own Savoy-style piece, the operetta *Lansdowne Castle* (1893).

98. Vaughan Williams gave Sharp much advice—even specific request for the lyrics, frequently qualifying his suggestions with remarks like “I don’t want you to be fettered in any way—I believe the best method is for me to make hay of your words *after* you have written them.” Letter to Sharp, 18 August 1927; quoted in Cobbe, *Letters of Ralph Vaughan Williams*, 156.

99. Stedman, *W. S. Gilbert*, 328.

Joseph Machlis and the Enjoyment of Music: A Biographical Appreciation of a Great Teacher

Robert J. Ball

Introduction

Because of you millions of American students have come to understand and love the great legacy of Western classical music. Through your still thriving book, *The Enjoyment of Music*, first published in 1955 and now in its seventh edition, you became the virtual inventor of the field of Music Appreciation. Your approach to leading the uninitiated into the wondrous realm of musical art and expression—an approach developed and honed here at Queens College during your thirty-five years on the faculty—has found such resonance throughout America that *The Enjoyment of Music* has sold over two million copies and is still used in 1,200 classrooms around the nation. But you have done much more than author an epochal textbook. You have published several other books on music as well as six musical novels. Your translations of operas from the original German, Spanish, Italian, French, and Russian have been performed by the Metropolitan Opera, Covent Garden (London), the NBC Opera Company, the New York City Opera, and the San Francisco Opera. You have also been a generous patron of music, and have in particular supported enterprises that cultivate new American music and musicians. It is with justifiable pride, then, that Queens College welcomes you home.

With these words, President Allen Lee Sessoms awarded Joseph Machlis the honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters on 6 December 1996, four months after his ninetieth birthday. Indeed, during his long association with Queens College, Machlis, known as the father of music appreciation, became one of the most famous professors of music in the United States.¹ Although Machlis lived an extraordinary life—rewarding and glamorous in a number of different ways—no one has ever produced a substantial biography to celebrate his brilliance. I offer this appreciation for the teacher who inspired me and countless other students at

Queens to love classical music—a teacher who seemed forever young to every generation that knew him. I have used the archives listed in the introductory note, publications listed in the Appendix, and personal recollections (fig. 1), my own and those of others, also listed in the introductory note. I have attributed some recollections to specific individuals but let widely remembered recollections stand without attribution, those that have taken their place in the world of Machlis folklore.

First Youth: The Budding Pianist

Joseph Machlis was born in Riga, Latvia, on 11 August 1906—the year in which Mahler conducted the premiere of his Sixth Symphony. He was the only child of a second marriage; his father, Alter (b. 1880), and his mother, Luba (b. 1870), were Russian Jews, who brought him to New York when he was three. Luba's first husband, Lippe Czorny, a printer by trade, had died of lead poisoning, and Alter, Lippe's boarder and apprentice, married Luba, who had five children from her first marriage.² In New York, Alter worked as a linotype operator for *The Day*, a well-known liberal Jewish newspaper, for which he received a good salary. Alter, an atheist, and Luba, a religious woman and the family's sustaining matriarch, were literate and cultured people, who enjoyed popular operettas, along with opera and symphony. Alter and Luba had a passionate relationship, and when they quarreled (as they frequently did), Joseph would go back and forth, serving as some kind of intermediary and peacemaker. He heard only Yiddish until age 5, when he began to attend school, and loved the Yiddish lullaby *Raisins and Almonds*,

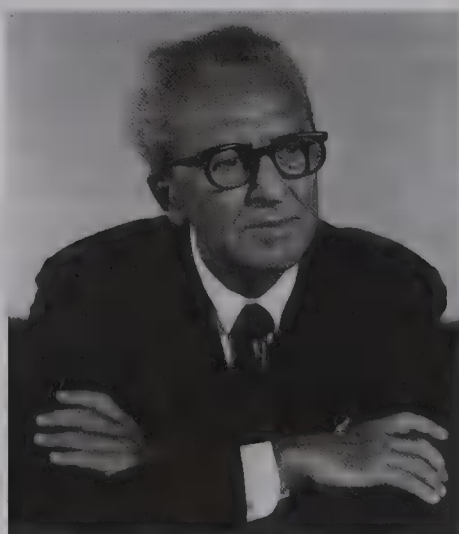


Figure 1. Joseph Machlis. Courtesy of Phyllis Machlis Pollack.

about a widow who sits alone and rocks her only son to sleep. At age 6, when his grandmother wanted to give him a gift, Alter said that Joseph needed a coat, but Luba insisted that a gift should be something one would not otherwise buy for oneself. Several days later Joseph watched as three burly men slid a piano off a truck, attached it to a pulley, and hoisted it up through the window of his family's apartment on the Lower East Side. After the men pushed the piano in place and removed the padded covering, he lifted the keyboard and marveled at the Gothic inscription: "L. Perelman and Company, New York City." The Machlises gradually upgraded their living standard, moving from the Lower East Side to the Williamsburg and Brighton Beach areas of Brooklyn to the Crotona Park section of the Bronx.

Machlis was a product of the New York City educational system, which inspired in him a love of books and writing that lasted a lifetime. He graduated from Public School 16 in Brooklyn and in 1923 from Eastern District High School, where he had pursued a general course of study and met several early friends. He studied Latin, still required in the 1920s for college entrance, and excelled in English, reveling in authors such as Charles Dickens, Sir Walter Scott, and Alfred Lord Tennyson. At age 17, he enrolled in City College, where he traveled each day by riding the train into Manhattan, walking a few blocks through Harlem, and climbing to Morningside Heights.³ He never forgot his first view of that Gothic-inspired structure high on the hill, with its mullioned windows and crenelated towers, which he thought came right out of Scott's *Kenilworth*. To Machlis, the City College professors seemed intimidating, since in his view most of them conveyed the idea that they deserved a better job and ought to have been teaching on an Ivy League campus. His music professor, Charles Heinroth, stood near the organ lecturing on Bach, while the students, utterly bored, would do their Latin homework. Only one wiry little English professor defied that stereotype—Earle Fenton Palmer, for one of whose courses Machlis remembered having submitted a paper on the biblical prophet Isaiah. Machlis considered him his favorite teacher, appreciated the way in which he recited Shelley and Keats in class, and proceeded to take his course on the great novels of the Victorian period. When Palmer learned that Machlis played the piano, he invited Machlis to perform for him, explaining that he loved music and that he deeply regretted not having studied this instrument. Thereupon Machlis visited Palmer at his home on the Upper West Side, where he played for his teacher on a number of occasions, until he received his BA from City College in 1927.

Since City College did not provide a formal music curriculum, the seventeen-year-old Machlis studied piano at the Institute for Musical Art. For his audition before Helena Augustin, he played a piano arrangement of Franz von Suppé's *Poet and Peasant Overture*, one of Suppé's most lighthearted pieces. When Augustin asked him why he had chosen this work for such a serious occasion, Machlis, who did not have a full classical repertory, simply replied: "Because it sounds good!" Augustin, who Machlis thought had the profile and bearing of a decadent Roman emperor, would often remind her students in her husky baritone: "Many are called but few are chosen." For Machlis, Augustin epitomized the Middle European tradition of piano playing with her soulfulness, sinking deep into the keys as she mobilized the strength of her arms and shoulders. While studying at the Institute, he attended concerts at Carnegie Hall by Mischa Elman, the Russian violin virtuoso, for whom some think he was being groomed as accompanist. He also attended his first opera at the old Metropolitan Opera House—Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor*, which he found as captivating as the novel by Sir Walter Scott that had inspired it.⁴ In 1925, he completed the Institute's Regular Course in Piano, and in 1927, its Teacher's Course, which made him "competent to teach" (the words that appeared on his diploma). In 1928, he completed the Institute's (by then Juilliard's) Artist's Course in Piano, winning a scholarship to study at the American Conservatory in Fontainebleau during the summer. In the days leading up to that competition, he had two recurring dreams, in which his pants fell down as he came on stage and the audience walked out as he played. To make matters worse, during the actual recital, as he played Schumann's Piano Concerto in A Minor, his left leg began to shake up and down despite all his efforts to make it stop.

Machlis arrived in Paris when that "lost generation" of Americans was congregating in the literary cafés along the Boulevard Montparnasse. He found himself in a city where writers such as Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and John Dos Passos were pursuing a bohemian lifestyle in the aftermath of World War I.⁵ In applying for admission to the Fontainebleau School of Music, Machlis had agreed to take one course in piano and complementary courses in music history. He studied under Isidore Philipp, a concert and recital pianist who later became a professor at the Paris Conservatoire and head of the piano section of the American Conservatory. He described Philipp as "a little old man with a white walrus mustache," reminiscent of Georges Clemenceau, the senior French representative who had signed the Treaty of Versailles. Machlis regarded Philipp as a diplomat (as was Clemenceau), who never told American students to their face that they lacked talent but almost always found something

pleasant to say. In contrast, he was severe and direct with his gifted students, those who really mattered to him; when he was pleased, he murmured, "*Pas mal*" (the equivalent of Helena Augustin's "Not bad"). According to Machlis, Philipp exemplified the French virtues of elegance and restraint, using the suppleness of his wrist and his fingers to ripple over the surface of the keyboard. "It must be clear and light" (*clair* and *léger* were Philipp's favorite adjectives), "and you must *never* force the piano beyond its capacity, *jamais*"—Philipp's very words according to Machlis. During his summer in Paris, Machlis won the piano competition at the Conservatory, playing Paderewski's Theme and Variations in A Minor, but not without facing old problems. Before the competition he again had the nightmares about his trousers falling down and the audience walking out, and during the actual recital, his left leg began to shake up and down.

Machlis returned to New York, feeling more and more that he had confused the issue of loving music with wanting to become a musician. Although he enjoyed being on stage, he did not see his life defined by the piano, as did the pianists who played at Carnegie Hall, such as Vladimir Horowitz. During the 1930s, Machlis supported himself by giving private piano lessons in Brighton Beach to the children of some of his parents' friends, "to fifteen little girls all called Shirley Katz." Aside from instructing his fifteen young Shirleys, he would also sell copies of the *Daily Worker*, the newspaper of the American Communist Party, on the boardwalk in Brighton Beach. The boardwalk served as a promenade, where one could hear all the groups on the political spectrum—socialists, anarchists, communists, Democrats, and even an occasional Republican. The *Daily Worker* had not yet become the dreaded vehicle of communism but projected an intellectual ideal that appealed to Machlis and many other immigrants living in New York. In those days, Machlis considered the prospect of a proletarian revolution a valid goal, until he realized that capitalism was not going to disappear and that he better find himself a job. The "fellow traveler" who had hoped "for a better world" wrote short stories and submitted them to magazines such as *Redbook* and *Cosmopolitan*, as well as the *Saturday Evening Post*. For these short stories, none of which have survived, he received only rejection slips, without any encouragement, making him think that he had no talent for writing. He decided therefore to enter graduate school and enrolled in the master's program in English literature at Columbia University, primarily to learn how to become a professional writer. While completing his MA, which he received in 1937, he sat in on the music history seminars of Paul Henry

Lang, who was just beginning his distinguished career on Morningside Heights.⁶

Having received his master's, Machlis began to look for a full-time teaching position—a herculean task in the teeth of the Great Depression. After sending over thirty letters to music departments at colleges and universities around the country, he received one positive response from the University of Montana in Missoula. He decided, however, that he would hold out for an opening in New York, the city that he loved more than any other, where, as he frequently commented: “Even the garbage smells good.” He contacted Earle Fenton Palmer, his favorite professor at City College, who remembered him and suggested that he see Charles Heinroth, chair of the music department on that campus. As fate would have it, Machlis received the chance to teach at City in the summer from the very professor whose lectures on Bach had bored his students into doing their Latin homework. Machlis, who remembered how intimidating his own professors had seemed to him, went out of his way to break the stereotype and to connect with the students. Sometime afterward, Palmer urged Machlis to meet Paul Klapper, a former student of his and now president of Queens College, a new branch of the New York City college system. Klapper, who regretted his own limited musical education, asked Machlis to teach music appreciation at Queens, a commuter college in Flushing just half an hour from Manhattan. Machlis thanked Palmer by giving him piano lessons over a five-year period, to the point that he was able to get his septuagenarian teacher and student to play Bach, Chopin, and Beethoven. Palmer in turn advised Machlis: “Don’t lead a communist demonstration. Don’t get involved with the little girls in your class. Don’t get involved with the little boys in your class.” In 1937, the defining year in Machlis’s professional life, his mother Luba died, not long after she broke her arm in a fall and deteriorated in the hospital as the result of a serious infection.⁷

Second Youth: The College Professor

Machlis began teaching at Queens College in fall 1938 at the rank of instructor at a salary of \$2,304 a year. Founded in 1937, Queens opened for registration as a four-year college (in the tradition of City, Hunter, and Brooklyn), with four hundred students and with fifty-six faculty members. The music department was located on the second floor of an old building that housed the cafeteria—a far cry from its later metamorphosis into today’s Aaron Copland School of Music. In the early years, the music classes were held in drafty, World War II Quonset huts with

leaking roofs, creaking floorboards, a broken-keyed piano, and an ancient record player. During that time, the department was chaired by Edward Stringham, author of *Listening to Music Creatively*, published by Prentice-Hall in 1946. Machlis served as the co-author of the preliminary, typewritten wartime edition of this textbook published in 1943 but did not receive credit or acknowledgment in later editions. During the 1940s, Machlis also worked on a music appreciation project with Vox Records, writing the scripts for a series of twelve recordings about the lives and music of great composers. This Music Master series, designed especially for young people, featured famous personalities of the time as narrators, such as the actor José Ferrer and the commentator Floyd Mack.⁸ As Machlis worked on this and other musical projects, he climbed the academic ladder: tenure (1941), promotion to assistant professor (1945), associate professor (1951), and professor (1961). During his long and productive career at Queens College, he taught in a department with a stellar faculty, with colleagues who distinguished themselves as teachers and scholars, such as Sol Berkowitz, Barry Brook, John Castellini, Gabriel Frontrier, Leo Kraft, Saul Novack, George Perle, Karol Rathaus, Boris Schwarz, and Hugo Weisgall.

In Machlis's classroom, students often felt as though they were attending a performance at Carnegie Hall or the Metropolitan Opera. They frequently found him sitting at the piano, bent over the keyboard with his eyes closed, swaying back and forth in ecstasy while playing a piece central to the upcoming lesson. Machlis, who laughed as gleefully as a leprechaun and whose way of speaking reminded one of the language of a Victorian novel, would transport his students to a world they had never experienced. He would talk about a composer, play one of the composer's compositions—very rapidly, with great panache, and with many clinkers—and explain what made that work so memorable.⁹ He held fast to the spirit of youth (he seemed always eighteen), spoke the language of the students, and even in a crowded classroom made each feel that he/she was the center of attention. He even charmed students whom he would occasionally scold for not paying attention, including female students, who laughed at comments that one might regard as sexist nowadays. He would humorously say “you, you, you—you silly little goose in the first row” and tease “those harpies in the third row who can't open their souls to let the warm wind rush through.” Some of the women played a joke on Machlis in spring 1943 when—as recalled by Annette Devlin Court (QC '46)—he was playing a recording of Rimsky-Korsakov's *Scheherazade*. Leona Hauff Dushin, a pledge whom Annette was sponsoring for Alpha Alpha Sigma, happened to be wearing a bejeweled, lavishly veiled costume at the time. Peggy Cahill

Johnson, a sorority sister, opened the door and pushed Leona into the classroom, where Leona danced and manipulated the veils to the rhythm of the music. Machlis and his students stared in amazement, then applauded her performance; Leona repeated the dance in a later class, this time at the invitation of the amused instructor.

Machlis's students remember not only their general impression of him as a teacher but very specific moments, as demonstrated by the following anecdotes. Richard Milner (QC '63) recalls how in fall 1959 Machlis opened the first music appreciation class by saying: "You may not remember anything about the composers or their compositions, but I hope that you'll remember the window I've opened for you. There's a strange-scented wind wafting from afar, carrying with it hints of exotic lands and unknown delights." A few days later, Machlis noticed that a student had returned after missing several classes and asked where he had been. The student replied: "I was sick." Machlis persisted: "What do you mean you were sick?" The student retorted: "When I opened the window, a strange-scented wind blew in from afar, and I caught a cold." Everyone laughed, Machlis most of all.¹⁰

Machlis welcomed all kinds of students into his classes—those with little as well as those with advanced background in music appreciation. When I myself (QC '62) asked him in spring 1961, if I could take his course "Piano Music of the Romantic Period," he poked me in the stomach and said: "It's for anyone with an open heart." When he learned that I had studied the piano, he invited me (to my great surprise) to play something for the students, who applauded my rendition of Chopin's *Fantasia Impromptu*. Yet while I was performing for my classmates, my left leg began to shake up and down—something with which Machlis fully sympathized, although I did not know his reason at that time. Later that semester, while we were taking an examination, Machlis suddenly shouted: "Gitlin! Do you think I'm blind?"—as he caught a student cheating. We wondered what terrible punishment would follow, when Machlis again screamed: "Just for that I'm not taking you to coffee!"—he was hesitant, even unwilling, to give students low grades. While taking his class, an English major allegedly asked Machlis for advice about whether to pursue a career in songwriting or, in keeping with his parents' wishes, go to law school. Machlis reportedly advised this young man to go to law school, telling him that he would never be able to make a career out of songwriting. The student attended Brooklyn Law School for six months and then decided to pursue his dream of becoming a songwriter. He and a friend, who had majored in art history at Columbia University, produced many albums and contributed substantially to the soundtrack of a famous movie about the

generation gap. In 1981, Machlis saw them perform for an audience of five hundred thousand in New York's Central Park, where (as some recollect) he shouted: "Wow! Wow! Wow!" His student was Paul Simon (QC '63).¹¹

Machlis inspired students in the classroom and with his textbook—*The Enjoyment of Music* (1955), which he dedicated to Earle Fenton Palmer. When a representative from W. W. Norton invited Machlis to write a textbook, Machlis referred him to his teaching material, duplicated by mimeograph and kept in big binders. Paul Henry Lang, Norton's music editor at that time and Machlis's former professor, examined the binders and urged him to transform the material into a textbook. Machlis, who thought that English teachers mistakenly began their survey courses with the Old English of *Beowulf* or the Middle English of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ignored chronology and began with composers he regarded accessible, such as Liszt, Grieg, and Dvořák, and then turned to the more difficult, such as Bach, Handel, and Vivaldi. He moved from nineteenth-century Romanticism to eighteenth-century Classicism, then back to medieval/renaissance/baroque music, then forward to twentieth-century music. In a typical chapter, he examined the life and work of a composer in its historical context, then analyzed one or two of the composer's works—written in a lively, colorful, and engaging style. (He applied the same structural principle—the juxtaposition of biographical information and musical analysis/interpretation—to another project on which he worked during the 1950s. For this project, *Music Treasures of the World*, he wrote articles for a series of forty pamphlets with recordings, constituting a course in music appreciation.)¹² *The Enjoyment of Music* became a best-seller and promoted the study of classical music for the nonspecialist—serving as important a purpose in the 1950s as it does today.

Machlis published three other books on music appreciation, which enhanced his reputation in the field as an outstanding teacher and author. *Introduction to Contemporary Music* (1961), which he dedicated to his old friends, music lovers, and art collectors Ernest and Rose Heller, picks up where *The Enjoyment of Music* left off. Yet here he organized the contents chronologically, concentrating exclusively on twentieth-century composers and movements, with an emphasis on American composers. *American Composers of Our Time* (1963), dedicated to Leslie, Karen, and Stephanie, the children of his nephew Norman Black, contains sixteen essays on great modern composers. Machlis aimed this volume at young readers in the hope that they would become inspired by musicians such as Aaron Copland, George Gershwin, and Leonard Bernstein. *Music: Adventures in Listening* (1966),

dedicated to Marsha, Jeanne, and Joseph, the children of his niece Connie Bitterman, gave Machlis the chance to reach high-school students. Adjusting his writing style to precollege readers, he essentially transformed *The Enjoyment of Music* into a considerably shorter but equally meritorious music appreciation textbook. During the 1960s, Machlis worked on an outgrowth of the project executed for Vox Records during the 1940s on the lives and music of great composers. This Biography in Words and Music series, designed for a young audience as well, featured the actor Norman Rose, famous for his sonorous baritone, as narrator.¹³ By the early 1960s, Machlis was earning a six-figure income from royalties from *The Enjoyment of Music* and was sending checks to his five half-siblings. He also established the Alter and Luba Machlis Memorial Awards for graduating music majors who were starting their graduate studies at Queens College.

Machlis also translated many famous operas into English, which the NBC Opera Company would then telecast in its landmark television series. Between 1949 and 1964, the NBC Opera Theater (renamed the NBC Opera Company in 1957) telecast over fifty operas, of which thirty-five are in the archives of the Museum of Television and Radio. These remarkable Sunday afternoon performances were produced by Samuel Chotzinoff, directed by Kirk Browning, and conducted by Peter Herman Adler and Herbert Grossman. Herbert Grossman (QC '47) told me that by 1955, he and others at NBC were trying to find a way around the stylistically awkward practice of translating operas into English by committee. Desiring to produce an uncut version of Puccini's *La Bohème* with a first-class translation, Grossman suggested that they recruit his former teacher Joseph Machlis. With the approval of Chotzinoff (Grossman's father-in-law since 1951), Machlis and Grossman began work on the translation, meeting for more than a year, for three or four nights a week. Grossman asked Machlis to put the text into clear and natural English and to avoid the stilted rhymes of the nineteenth-century librettists. *La Bohème*, in the excellent translation of Machlis and Grossman, went on the air in 1956 and on tour with the NBC Live Opera Company the following year. After this success, Chotzinoff invited Machlis to translate other operas, from French, German, Italian, and Russian libretti. These operas, all telecast by the NBC Opera Company, included Prokofiev's *War and Peace* (1957), Verdi's *La Traviata* (1957), Poulenc's *Dialogues des Carmélites* (1957), Verdi's *Rigoletto* (1958),¹⁴ Beethoven's *Fidelio* (1959), Mascagni's *Cavalleria rusticana* (1960), and Montemezzi's *L'amore dei tre re* (1962 and 1963).

In preparing these operatic adaptations, Machlis used an approach that was consistent with the views of the NBC hierarchy. He believed strongly that the productions needed verisimilitude (as in a Broadway play) and that the singers needed to have exceptional voices to perform in the language of the audience. He often pointed out that although one could justify presenting an opera in the original language at a world-class opera house, with its famous international stars and its highly sophisticated clientele, such an approach seemed inappropriate on television for an audience that did not understand that language and needed to hear the texts in clear and natural English. He regarded the language of the old librettists, with their “perturbation-consolation” rhyme schemes, an abomination several notches below doggerel. Not knowing all the languages of opera, he would compare the original text with existing English translations to get a sense of the meaning before creating his translation. He never felt that his lack of familiarity with some languages hurt his translations; as he would jokingly say: “If you know ‘love,’ ‘death,’ ‘heart,’ ‘don’t weep,’ and ‘farewell,’ you’ve got it!” To communicate the action of the opera line by line, he created a translation that combined the most singable lines with the clearest, simplest English. Knowing much about the voice from instinct rather than training, he made the verbal accent coincide with the musical accent, as if the music had been written for the English words.¹⁵ He would work with the singers during rehearsal, always considerate of their views, making changes if a vowel did not lie well for their voice or was too high or too low. His translations became models and led to others, several of which were used by the Metropolitan Opera, the New York City Opera, the San Francisco Opera, and the Royal Opera House in London.

Although Machlis was gay (as all those in his circle knew), he had an early intimate relationship with the anthropologist Hortense Powdermaker. Powdermaker began teaching at Queens College in 1938, founded its anthropology department, and wrote books and articles on her fieldwork and on a number of other subjects.¹⁶ Machlis was ten years her junior (just as Alter had been ten years Luba’s junior), and every Mother’s Day she would attend the private dinner party Machlis had arranged for his family. The relationship demonstrated a serious attempt on Machlis’s part to live with a woman, as the psychiatrist Theodor Reik, a student of Freud, is believed to have advised him to do. The relationship eventually dissolved, quite amicably but with considerable pain, which Powdermaker described in an undated letter that survived in Machlis’s papers. She wrote:

Dear Joe, I appreciated your letter very much, and I rather agree with everything you say. Neither one of us should have a sense of failure. Out of our struggle and suffering (and the pleasures, too) has come a deep, warm, human relationship, a rather permanent part of both our lives. It is undergoing a change now, and the suffering is inevitable. The friendship that will follow, may very likely as you say, be better than what has preceded. It is wise to have a little lull. Later, we can see each other and some of the friends we both like. Your enjoyment in having me meet your friends has been no greater than my enjoyment in meeting them and so I would like to continue that. For me the important problem, is the internal one and I think I will work through that. I feel a bit better than I did, but rather exhausted. My very real sense of participation in life helps me to recover my balance. And being an intellectual helps, too. Just as being an intellectual and an artist helps you, too. Each one of us has other things to turn to, which are not substitutes but which help out. . . . I might use a trite phrase with the deepest sincerity—I'm glad I met you. Hortense

Machlis enjoyed the company of women of achievement, such as Stella Adler and Jennie Tourel, both lifelong friends. Stella Adler, born and educated in America, became a star on the Yiddish stage in the 1920s, playing over one hundred roles from works by Shakespeare and other great authors. The only American known to have studied with the Russian master Konstantin Stanislavski, she went on to found the Stella Adler Studio, which has long specialized in Method Acting. Machlis admired Adler not only because he saw her as the greatest teacher of acting in America but also because she demonstrated a genuine respect for classical music (piano and opera). In 1945, she directed *Polonaise* on the New York stage—a historical extravaganza in three acts set to the music of Chopin—a well-received production, which Machlis saw and appreciated. In 1964, she and Machlis attended the debut of Elizabeth Schwarzkopf at the Metropolitan Opera and surrendered to the voice of the German soprano rumored to have had Nazi protectors. Jennie Tourel, a Russian Jew who fled France three years before the German occupation, made her debut at the Metropolitan Opera in 1937, where she continued to perform in the 1940s. Machlis loved her recordings of Schubert and Schumann, of Mussorgsky's *Songs and Dances of Death*, and of Debussy's adaptations of Verlaine's *Fêtes galantes* poems—now collectors' items. Machlis and Tourel saw each other frequently and attended musical gatherings together. The coloratura supposedly said that she would have married Machlis if he had asked. Tourel introduced Machlis to Leonard Bernstein, who wrote the *Jeremiah Symphony* with her voice in mind and performed this work and others with her all over

the world. When she died in 1973 at age 63, Bernstein eulogized her and Machlis established a scholarship in her name at the Samuel Rubin Academy in Jerusalem, where she taught.¹⁷

Machlis became a controversial figure in the Queens College music department, where he was embroiled for years in a conflict with his colleague Saul Novack. One must see the friction that developed between Machlis and Novack in the context of a struggle that took place on different levels, as explained to me by Bruce Saylor and Lawrence Eisman. These two professors of music—Saylor, sympathetic to the Novack side, Eisman, to the Machlis side—provided me with details, each reinforcing the other. Novack represented the academic theorists, who studied the mathematics of music and regarded Machlis merely as a performer and popularizer, and a rather clownish one at that. Novack followed the analytical system of Heinrich Schenker, whose theories Novack's colleague Felix Salzer, a devoted student of Schenker, refined and explained after the theorist's death. Machlis, in contrast, represented the teacher-musicians, many of whom composed music and performed it for their students to enable them to enjoy music while learning to understand its structure. These teacher-musicians (or music educators, as some called them patronizingly) considered Novack an intellectual snob and distrusted Schenkerian/Salzerian analysis. A fuse was lit when Howard Brofsky, while serving as department chair, authorized the faculty to use his own music appreciation textbook instead of Machlis's, offering them a choice. But Machlis believed that Brofsky's textbook, which in his mind buried music in a technical superstructure, would destroy all that he had accomplished during his tenure at Queens.¹⁸ Another dispute occurred when Brofsky granted Hugo Weisgall's request to direct the Queens College Choir—a decision that irritated John Castellini, who had conducted it for many years. Although Castellini did not direct the choir during Brofsky's tenure, he still felt possessive of the chorus and of the Choral Society, which he had founded and conducted for thirty years until his retirement in 1971.

Driven by their deep-seated differences, the members of the music department engaged in a bitter contest in spring 1971 to elect a new chair. The one side (the academic theorists) included Brofsky, Leo Kraft, George Perle, and Weisgall, who had made Novack their candidate. The other (the teacher-musicians) included Sol Berkowitz, Castellini, Gabriel Frontrier, and Machlis, among others, who had chosen Eisman. One had to vote in person, causing Machlis to fly in Marjorie Hahn (away on sabbatical) at his own expense—a tactic that prompted some faculty to chastize him openly at the meeting. After a vehement debate about procedural matters, Eisman was elected chair by

secret ballot—something that the losing side decided to protest to the administration, unsuccessfully. The day after the election Machlis sent a vitriolic letter to Weisgall, in which he gloated over the outcome of the election, especially the fall of the “Weisgall–Kraft–Brofsky” regime.¹⁹ As soon as Eisman was elected, he asked Weisgall to step aside as the director of the choir, installed himself in that position in order to resurrect it, and appointed Saylor as his assistant. At roughly the same time, he asked Weisgall to serve as the director of the orchestra in order to resolve one of the two inflammatory issues that had set off the bitter contest in the first place. Eisman respected all members of the department and worked hard to bring the faculty together—something that he apparently accomplished, except for a few fringe people such as Machlis. Still angry at Novack and his followers, Machlis would call Eisman almost every Sunday morning, first to complain and then to suggest and prescribe what action Eisman should be taking. Novack went on to become dean of Arts and Humanities, and Machlis retired in 1975 as professor emeritus, but he never forgave Novack for the conflict, for which he blamed him entirely.

Third Youth: The Music Aficionado

In 1977, Machlis received a telephone call from the Juilliard School, asking if he would be able to step in and start teaching four days hence. According to Machlis, David Del Tredici had suddenly decided to accept a position at Harvard—explaining why his name had reached the desk of President Peter Mennin.²⁰ When Machlis asked why they thought that he, a happy retiree, would want to teach, especially in view of the four-day notice, the administration won him over by reminding him that Juilliard was his alma mater. Machlis later joked about the way in which he joined the Juilliard faculty, explaining that it reminded him of the search in 1723 for the Cantor of St. Thomas’s Church in Leipzig. He pointed out that when the famous composer Georg Philipp Telemann rescinded his application for the position, St. Thomas’s Church had to settle for the then far less distinguished Johann Sebastian Bach. As fate would have it, Machlis had now returned to the very location where he was once traumatized by a scholarship competition. At Juilliard, he taught graduate seminars on European music since 1910, late Romanticism and Impressionism in Music, and opera in the twentieth century. During the twenty years he taught at Juilliard, Machlis won the minds and hearts of his students, just as he had at Queens. Yet he no longer came to class dressed in the tweed jackets of that earlier period but in suede jackets, or rather, as he made very clear:

"It's Ultrasuede, more than suede; I can afford it now." Although he respected the talent of his students, he repeatedly asked friends: "How can I honestly tell them that most of them will never get to perform in Avery Fisher Hall?" As he pondered the fierce competition involved in becoming a musician, was he recalling the words of his teacher Helena Augustin fifty years earlier: "Many are called but few are chosen"?

Machlis continued to write, dividing his time between *The Enjoyment of Music* and a series of novels set almost entirely in the musical world. Machlis kept revising his textbook with the help of Claire Brook, his editor at W. W. Norton, a Queens alumna (QC '45) who had majored in music but had never studied under Machlis. By the mid-1970s, however, other books were beginning to offer Machlis's text serious competition, and by the mid-1980s, Brook did not feel that it would be able to survive in its existing form. She therefore enlisted the help of musicologist Kristine Forney, who she thought could provide Machlis's book with the updating it needed. Because of Forney *The Enjoyment of Music* became judiciously multicultural, showing that Western music did not spring full-blown from the heads of Josquin des Prez and Monteverdi. The coauthored version, widely used for its broad range of ethnic and vernacular perspectives, preserves Machlis's goal to expose students to great music in an accessible manner.²¹ As a reward for the highly successful music appreciation textbook, W. W. Norton published Machlis's novels, of which he authored six, fulfilling his life-long dream of composing fiction. He published the first two under the pseudonym George Selcamm—Machlis spelled backward phonetically—since Norton did not want him to use his own name. As Machlis related, his publisher believed that his novels, with their sexual scenes and dialogue, would offend readers of his textbook, especially the nuns in the Catholic schools. Written in a lively, colorful, and seductive style, his novels (all except one) deal with musicians and their careers, with the stresses and struggles associated with the music profession. Descriptions of his novels—in many ways *romans à clef* with their allusions to Machlis himself or to individuals he knew—are given in the Appendix.

Machlis hosted musicales in his home—an attempt to transplant a nineteenth-century European custom to the Upper East Side of Manhattan. In 1942, he moved into his small, almost closet-sized apartment at 310 East 55th Street, where he would read and write, sleep on a narrow bed, and keep food in an antique refrigerator. Requiring nothing more extensive or elaborate for himself in the way of living quarters, he once told his lawyer Teri Towe: "This is my own form of personal rebellion against my mother." In 1972, he bought his larger,

more comfortable apartment in the Excelsior, at 303 East 57th Street, which became known as the Joseph Machlis Concert Hall. Here he held his soirées and kept his magnificent Steinway and his eye-popping ultra-modernist paintings and sculptures, many obtained from his friends Ernest and Rose Heller.²² In a letter to Jennie Tourel, written shortly after the purchase, he recalled how he had entered the Excelsior, looked at a few apartments, and acquired one for forty thousand dollars. He informed her proudly that he now owned an apartment in a building with a swimming pool and that he was able to make a decision as quickly as he did at the advanced age of 66. Later, realizing that he needed someone to take care of his new apartment, he hired Sara Basch, an Israeli student and singer whom he had met through the poet Samuel Menashe. Basch had come to America on a grant from the America-Israel Cultural Foundation, and Menashe had met her at the home of a board member, where she was working as an au pair. Learning that Basch needed a place to live, Menashe thought of Machlis and introduced her to him in a taxi on the way to 57th Street. Machlis asked her if she could sew a button on his coat and on that basis decided to let her live in the apartment rent-free. She took care of the place and cooked for him for twelve years in keeping with the Pritikin guidelines he strove to follow.

Machlis hosted cocktail parties, birthday parties, parties honoring authors/prize-winners, and parties where young musicians performed. Musician John Holly, a former student of Machlis at Juilliard, who also worked as his editorial assistant, organized the parties for ten years. At 8:00 p.m., guests began to arrive at these events, with Machlis arriving not long afterward. He would always introduce a new guest to the other guests, never observing any hierarchical structure—a practice that testified to his excellent upbringing. At 9:00 p.m., Machlis gave the signal to pull out folding chairs and proceeded to introduce the musician and musical works on the program. He provided a five-minute informative and humorous lecture—the most spellbinding part of the evening, which many preferred to the actual performance. Even during the performance, Machlis seemed to steal the show, although not deliberately, sitting up front and swaying back and forth ecstatically as he listened to the music. At 10:00 p.m., Machlis gave the signal to push aside the chairs and make room for the buffet, prepared by his Mexican maid Imelda Marquez. Guests often stayed on well after midnight, to speak with each other or with their host—still generous and garrulous, still bubbling and brimming with anecdotes. Everyone had an enjoyable time, except for some tenants in the building who complained about the noise and even speculated that Machlis was running a nightclub. The

music aficionado solved the problem by covering the floor with thick white carpeting and by inviting the troubled tenants to the parties, ultimately befriending them.²³

And the guests? Machlis invited to his musicales not only musicians but butchers and bakers and candlestick makers of the highest standing. Some of Machlis's guests went back a long way, such as Ernest and Rose Heller, the art collectors. Others in this category included Harold and Florence Rome (Harold, of the Songwriters Hall of Fame), and Samuel and Edith Grafton (who had written scripts for early television programs). Machlis invited to his parties many talented individuals from the world of music, such as Emanuel Ax, Leonard Bernstein, Ruth Laredo ("America's first lady of the piano," who frequently performed at the musicales as prelude to her performances in larger venues), Regina Resnik, Ned Rorem, Beverly Sills, Rise Stevens, Jennie Tourel, Roselyn Tureck, and Earl Wild. From the world of entertainment came celebrities such as Stella Adler, Judy Collins (who had met Machlis at a book-signing party given by Ned Rorem and whom Machlis later honored with a party on the publication of her autobiography), Betty Comdon, Hermione Gingold, Sheldon Harnick, Al Hirschfeld, Tony Randall, Anna Sosenko, Eli Wallach, and Irene Worth. On Machlis's guest-lists appeared the names of celebrated authors such as Hortense Calisher, Howard Fast, Betty Friedan, Erica Jong, Bel Kaufman (Machlis's beloved "Belochki," who composed poems for his birthdays), Victor Navasky, Joan Peyser, Theodore Sorenson, Calvin Trillin, and Theodore White. Respected journalists included Susan Heller Anderson, Clive Barnes, Margaret Croyden, Emily Genauer, Charles Michener (who became so fascinated by Machlis's musicales that he began to host his own for artists from Europe unfamiliar with the New York scene), Nora Sayre, Harold Schoenberg, John Simon, Harriet Van Horne, and William Zakariasen.²⁴

At age 79, Machlis invited a twenty-one-year-old pianist to perform at one of his musicales, whom he came to regard as his protégé. Leonid Kuzmin (b. 1964), son of a Jewish father and Russian mother—like Machlis, of Jewish-Russian roots—had studied with Irina Tsvetaeva at the Minsk State Conservatory of Music. In 1981, Kuzmin moved from Russia to New York and studied at the Manhattan School of Music under Nina Svetlanova, who introduced him to the man who would become his patron. On 20 November 1985, Kuzmin performed at Machlis's apartment, where he played Prokofiev's Seventh Sonata, Chopin's *Barcarolle*, three etudes by Liszt, and Balakirev's *Islamey*. Having dazzled Machlis's audience, Kuzmin performed at Alice Tully Hall four days later, where he won the American Music Scholarship

Association's World Piano Competition.²⁵ During the thirteen years they spent together, Machlis loved Kuzmin (as Kuzmin related to me) "as a son, as one charmer to another, for his talent, his directness, and his good looks." Machlis once told Kuzmin: "I don't want you to remember me badly"—quoting what the middle-aged Alfredo says to the young boy Salvatore in *Cinema Paradiso*, a film Machlis loved. Machlis enjoyed the way Kuzmin played the piano—fast, *con brio*, as he himself did—although (as Kuzmin also informed me) he admired Arthur Rubinstein over every other pianist. Interestingly, around the time that Machlis met Kuzmin, he was maintaining a close friendship with Leslie Rubinstein, the writer and ex-wife of Rubinstein's son Paul. Kuzmin introduced Machlis to the violinist Yuri Vodovoz and the writer/pianist Eliane Reinhold, who, with Kuzmin, came to constitute Machlis's "inner circle."

Machlis wanted the world to savor the virtuosity of Leonid Kuzmin and had him perform for influential musicians such as Leonard Bernstein. In an undated letter to Bernstein, Machlis expressed his enthusiasm in poetic prose, in the hope that Bernstein would listen to Kuzmin's recording of Rachmaninoff's Second Sonata. In this letter—and I am quoting from the version that he kept in his papers, not from the toned-down one he mailed to Bernstein—he praised the artistry of his protégé:

Dear Lenny, The great thing about Leonid is that he is as amazing a pianist as he is a person. Indeed, the impact of his playing about equals the impact of his beauty. Take twenty minutes and listen to the Rachmaninoff Sonata on his tape. You will be astonished that a young artist can inject such power and passion into a performance. It is Russian, it is romantic, it is Rachmaninoff. . . . Much love, Joe.²⁶

Machlis naturally was the center of attention at his own birthday parties, held on or around 11 August, when he himself would sometimes perform. Bel Kaufman composed poems for Machlis's birthdays, which she would recite—a feature enjoyed by all the guests, especially Machlis. One can sense how deeply Machlis's friends loved him from this excerpt from the poem composed for his eighty-sixth birthday:

Yet look what Pritikin hath wrought:	And next morning—take a look:
Joe does not look the way he ought:	From his pen—another book!
I'd like to know the naked truth:	Or perhaps he's keeping healthier
What is the secret of his youth?	Swimming daily in Excelthior?
Let me guess; I think I'm right:	Music—the Enjoyment Of?
Seven parties in one night,	Friends who shower him with love?

Machlis could indeed attend seven parties in one night, when, dressed in a tuxedo, the musical world's tireless boulevardier made the rounds of New York City's classical music scene. His seemingly innumerable friends gladly welcomed this energetic and irrepressible raconteur into their homes, although on one occasion, his hostess did become irritated with his storytelling. At a party hosted by Stella Adler in her Fifth Avenue apartment, the tone shifted dramatically when Machlis arrived and began to relate his little anecdotes. According to Adler's daughter Ellen and Joan Peyser, one of the guests, Adler suddenly interrupted him, saying: "Joe, please stop! Can't you see that you're boring my guests?" Machlis, shocked and crushed by this comment, said nothing for the rest of the evening. He later wrote a letter to Adler, saying that her stinging remark recalled an experience from his childhood—the time he played with a kitten that suddenly scratched him.²⁷

Machlis did not allow this incident to ruin his friendship with Adler and even planned to write a seventh novel, in which she would play a part. According to Herbert Jaffey, his friend and former director of international publicity for Twentieth Century Fox, he wanted to focus on old Hollywood, on Stella and the Adler acting dynasty. He would not live to write that novel, now that old age and illness were setting in; Adler referred to her own failing condition in a letter to Machlis dated 26 November 1990:

Dear Joe, It was wonderful of you to call. I am in California; I live in California now. The body failed me. I didn't use the city and what it offered—the world of art—the world of knowledge. It's easier here. I know that you have still, the walking and the going to openings, etc., etc. Please, Joe, there is a great Jewish poet, who tells you about the child, who offers her life to the dying Rabbi. So, take it all in, Joe, and know that you're amazing and wonderful and the kindest! You are my family; you are my beloved, honored, admired, knowledgeable and still childish friend. Your[s], Stella.

Adler died two years later.²⁸ Machlis had open-heart surgery as an octogenarian, involving a coronary artery bypass and an aortic valve replacement using a pig valve. As he said to Judy Collins: "Little Nicholas [the pig] sacrificed his life so that I could have mine"; and Calvin Trillin quipped: "Your body is now *treif*" (the Yiddish word for "unclean"). Machlis also suffered from slow-spreading prostate cancer but never allowed his physical condition to get in the way of his intellectual interests. Nevertheless, one day in 1994, as Royan "Kirk" Hanson, the doorman at 310 East 55th Street, was riding the elevator, he smelled

gas, which seemed to be coming from Machlis's floor. He saw Machlis's door ajar, with a towel stopping it from closing, and found Machlis unconscious, with a blanket over his head and his head in the oven. Machlis survived, spent six weeks in the hospital, and returned home, although he and his rescuer never discussed what had happened.

Machlis continued seeing his friends and hosting his musicales, and he was the guest of honor at events celebrating his lifetime achievements. His friends continued to shower him with love and admiration while wondering what could have caused him to try to commit suicide—illness? fear of poverty? fear of abandonment? On 22 October 1996, Norton gave Machlis a ninetieth birthday party at the Kosciuszko Foundation, featuring tributes by Harold Arlen, Milton Babbitt, Seymour Barab, William Bolcom, John Corigliano, David Del Tredici, Lukas Foss, George Perle, Tobias Picker, Ned Rorem, Bruce Saylor, Hugo Weisgall, and Yehudi Wyner. They roasted the nonagenarian as “a Yiddish Wunderkind” (John Corigliano, lyrics by William Hoffman), “the Ultrasuede Brummel, / The hummer of Hummel” (George Perle, lyrics by Claire Brook), “a man who does not age the way he ought! Is this a miracle that Pritikin has wrought?” (Seymour Barab, lyrics by Bel Kaufman).²⁹ On 6 December 1996, Queens College awarded Machlis the honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters in a ceremony attended by invited guests and many of his friends and students. The ceremony concluded with a heartwarming tribute, which featured speakers Barry Brook, Betty Friedan, and Calvin Trillin, and musicians Leonid Kuzmin, Ruth Laredo, Ronald Roseman, Yuri Vodovoz, and Robert White. Kuzmin played one of Liszt's *Hungarian Rhapsodies*; Kuzmin and Vodovoz performed Saint-Saëns's *Introduction and Rondo Capriccioso*; Laredo played Schumann's *Fantasiestücke*; White and Roseman performed Handel's *Tune Your Harps*; and White sang *Danny Boy*, in Machlis's mind the most beautiful of all folk songs.

Although Machlis remained mentally sharp, his physical condition deteriorated, as his cancer continued to spread. His inner circle—Leonid Kuzmin, Yuri Vodovoz, and Eliane Reinhold—did all they could to keep him comfortable. When the psychiatrist Zvi Lothane visited him, he observed Kuzmin feeding him—the image of father and son, teacher and student, exemplifying the human qualities of that relationship. When I myself visited Machlis two months before he died, he was staying in the small apartment on 55th Street. He made clear that he had accepted the fact that he was dying. He proceeded to say: “Turning eighty is not like turning seventy. Turning ninety is not like turning eighty. My doctor told me not to worry, that old age will get me before the cancer will.” When I visited him again two weeks before he died, he

had moved into the large apartment on 57th Street, where he kindly inscribed a copy of *The Enjoyment of Music* for me. When I asked him about Queens College, he uttered only two words: "Colleagues! Colleagues!" (Did he know that he had outlived his archenemy Saul Novack, who had died on 4 March 1998?) On 17 October 1998, Machlis died early in the morning, the same day that Chopin had died almost one hundred and fifty years earlier. He died painfully, much to the regret of Reinhold, who had promised him otherwise. Several days after his cremation, his ashes were delivered to Kuzmin's apartment.³⁰ On 28 October 1998, Teri Towe, Herbert Jaffey, Kuzmin, Vodovoz, and Reinhold rented a boat and sailed to Sheepshead Bay, Brooklyn, to bring Machlis home. As Kuzmin scattered Machlis's ashes, some blew back on him, as if a final loving farewell; some whirled over the waters not far from where Machlis grew up, where he would rest forever.

Machlis's death sparked warm tributes, beginning with a statement delivered on 12 November 1998 before the Queens College Academic Senate. On 7 December 1998, Juilliard held a memorial concert, featuring speakers Bel Kaufman, Donald Lamm (CEO of Norton), Charles Michener, Joseph Polisi (president of Juilliard), Ned Rorem, and Allen Lee Sessoms, and musicians Faith Esham (whom Machlis had mentored), Kuzmin, Laredo, Randall Scarlata, Cameron Stowe, and Vodovoz. Esham and Stowe performed a scene from act 1 of Poulenc's *Dialogues des Carmélites* (Machlis's translation); Kuzmin played the Schubert-Liszt *Der Müller und der Bach* (from *Die schöne Müllerin*); Kuzmin and Vodovoz performed Tchaikovsky's *Meditation*; Laredo played two of Rachmaninoff's preludes; and Scarlata and Stowe performed Ravel's haunting *Kaddish*.³¹ On 13 April 1999, Machlis's friends attended "One Last Party at Joe's"—organized by Teri Towe and John Holly. Unlike the typical Machlis musicales, which featured one specific performer, this memorial musicale featured a number of Machlis musicians, who performed a variety of different pieces. Judy Collins sang *The Fallow Way*, then *Danny Boy*; Laredo played Schubert's *Impromptu in B Flat*; Joseph Smith played Grainger's *Irish Tune from County Derry* (based on the old folk tune that lent itself to the words of *Danny Boy*); Kuzmin played Schumann's *Arabesque* and with Vodovoz performed Massenet's *Meditation* from the opera *Thaïs*. At the end of the evening, Holly left Machlis's apartment overcome with emotion. As he and others commented, this party marked the end of an era.

Afterword

One may compare Joseph Machlis to the kind of hero who appeared in the novels of the nineteenth-century author Horatio Alger. Machlis indeed provided a living example of the young man who overcame poverty, climbed from rags to riches, and achieved the American dream by hard work and sheer determination. He became one of New York's cultural treasures, with a talent for inspiring his students and supporting undertakings that cultivated classical music. Stella Adler perhaps best described Machlis's ability to maintain so many different friendships: "He knows everybody but wants to know everybody else." Yet he never lost sight of his central goal—to create music lovers—expressed so eloquently in the teacher's manual that accompanied the second edition of *The Enjoyment of Music*:

As we look back upon our college days there emerge, from the limbo of forgotten people and things, the one or two teachers who burned with the hard gemlike flame, who brought a glow into the classroom. . . . Should not these be our models in a course that aims to communicate to young people an enthusiasm for one of the great arts of Western culture? . . . We must not only get our students to hear music better than they ever heard it before; we must also get them to *want* to hear it, and to be excited about what they hear. Let us reach their hearts and imaginations, let us communicate to them something of our own enthusiasm for our art—something of the feeling that impelled us to become musicians in the first place.³²

Machlis lived up to this credo throughout his career, and in doing so, he imparted lasting knowledge to the men and women who admired him for the remarkable person he was. Although he never married or had his own children, he raised the children of others, teaching them and millions of people through his writings to appreciate the great classical composers. One must regard this outstanding achievement, undoubtedly the greatest achievement of his life, as the ultimate act of the "sublimation of love"—to use a Freudian term. However one interprets his life, his students knew that whenever they entered his classroom, they experienced not only the enjoyment of music but the enjoyment of Machlis.

Appendix

This appendix contains a bibliography of everything published by and about Joseph Machlis, as far as I have been able to determine, except for reviews of his books and three recording projects, two of which have

survived only in part (see notes 8, 12, and 13). Since Machlis himself did not leave a list of his publications, I examined all his papers for possible citations, the standard bibliographical reference works in his field, and indexes to the periodicals in his field in order to produce as comprehensive a bibliography as possible. I have arranged his publications in appropriate categories, chronologically (except for the translations, listed in alphabetical order, including only those that were published), and annotated the entries for his novels in order to provide readers with a sense of their content.

Books

The Enjoyment of Music (New York: W. W. Norton, 1955).

Exists in eleven editions—the first through the fifth by Machlis alone (1955, 1963, 1970, 1977, and 1984), the sixth through the eleventh with Kristine Forney (1990, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2007, and 2011). The second edition was published with a teacher's manual—*On the Teaching of Music Appreciation*—in which Machlis provided instructional guidelines to be used in a first-year sequence in music appreciation.

Introduction to Contemporary Music (New York: W. W. Norton, 1961/79).

American Composers of Our Time (New York: T. Y. Crowell, 1963).

Music: Adventures in Listening (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966).

Novels

The Night Is for Music (New York: W. W. Norton, 1964).

Dedicated to Jennie Tourel and published under the pseudonym George Selcamm. This novel—the only novel by Machlis not set in New York—centers on Lisa Towers, a chanteuse, who returns to Cape Cod for a seventh summer season at the Pilgrim Inn. It deals with her interaction with the six men who impinge on her life, in a way that captures the feeling of a resort colony with all its visitors, its tempo, and its sounds. The steamy summer becomes a turning point in all their lives, when, after many years of denial, they come to terms with the truths they had hidden from themselves. In this novel, one finds Machlis's initial treatment of the Holocaust, as described by the conductor Otto Sonnenfeld, who compares the Nazis' regime to Dante's *Inferno*. He cannot understand how the nation that gave the world Bach and Handel, Mozart and Haydn, Beethoven and Schubert, could have perpetrated such a horror (pp. 106–9).

Fifty-Seventh Street (New York: W. W. Norton, 1971).

Dedicated to Pierre and Genia Luboshutz, husband and wife players of music for two pianos, and published (like his first novel) under the pseudonym George Selcamm. This novel centers on Judith Conrad, a talented but ruthless concert pianist, who antagonizes virtually everyone in her path as her life spirals irrevocably downward. It also focuses on Paul Horvath, a famous European conductor, who dedicates himself to his profession but desperately tries to guard the secret surrounding his private life. It has as its central theme the conflict between the musician's quest for professional perfection and recognition and his/her quest for personal happiness and fulfillment. Machlis modeled Judith Conrad partly on the concert pianist Hortense Monath, the twice-divorced mother of one son, who died in a manner that he adapted for the novel. He modeled Paul Horvath partly on Dimitri Mitropoulos, conductor of the New York Philharmonic, who for a long time decided to keep his homosexuality an open secret.

Lisa's Boy (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982).

Dedicated "In Remembrance: The World of Our Fathers" and published under his own name—the most autobiographical of his novels, about his life as a young man. This novel features David Gordin (Joseph Machlis), his parents Joel and Lisa Gordin (Alter and Luba Machlis), and the educators who helped shape his thinking. At City College, David meets Donald Sheldon (Earle Fenton Palmer); at the Institute for Musical Art, Elena Parissot (Helena Augustin); in Paris, Isidor Philipp himself. David also meets Judith Sonnenberg (Hortense Powdermaker), an anthropologist who teaches at the college level and with whom he shares an intimate relationship. Professor Heinz (Charles Heinroth) offers David a temporary position at City College for summer session, where David finds his true calling and shines in the classroom. The novel concludes as Lisa Gordin dies in the hospital and receives a traditional religious burial—consistent with the events surrounding the death of Luba Machlis.

The Career of Magda V. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1985).

Dedicated to Stella Adler and modeled partly on the career of Elizabeth Schwarzkopf, whose debut at the Metropolitan Opera Machlis and Adler attended on 13 October 1964. This novel is set on that day, as Magda Volkmann (Schwarzkopf) prepares to perform as the Marschallin in Richard Strauss's *Der Rosenkavalier*. Over the course of the day, Magda has four flashbacks, transporting her to her life in Germany of the 1930s and 1940s, to the rise and

fall of Hitler's Third Reich. Throughout the novel, the reader reflects on whether an extremely talented individual can or should sacrifice principle in the struggle between ambition and conscience. This novel deals more extensively than any other novel by Machlis with the Holocaust. He describes Hitler screaming at a Nazi rally (pp. 61–65) and a meeting on the “final solution” to the Jewish question (pp. 188–90), implemented in the gas chambers (pp. 221–25).

Stefan in Love (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991).

Dedicated to the columnist Emily Genauer and dealing with a newspaper reporter obsessed with a woman half his age—Machlis's only novel not related to musicians. This novel, starting in Budapest, revolves around Stefan Nagy (in his fifties) and Ileana Horvath (in her twenties), who begin a relationship opposed by her family. Stefan and Ileana emigrate to the United States and live in New York, where Stefan's abilities have little value and Ileana's beauty catapults her into a modeling career. Eventually Stefan sees himself as the professor portrayed by Emil Jannings in *The Blue Angel*, who humiliates himself over the woman portrayed by Marlene Dietrich. Leonid Kuzmin, Machlis's protégé and companion for thirteen years, regards this novel as a veiled expression of Machlis's ongoing obsession with him personally. Nevertheless, as Kuzmin has made clear, he and Machlis maintained a long platonic friendship, during which they treated each other with great mutual respect.

Allegro (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997).

Dedicated to Florence Rome, wife of the songwriter Harold Rome, and dealing with drug abuse and dependency—the only novel by Machlis written in the first person. It revolves around violinist Danny Sachs, who drifts deep into drugs and dangerous affairs, and pianist Ruth Lasker, who loves Danny and serves as his accompanist. Machlis modeled Danny Sachs partly on the violinist Michael Rabin, who died from drug abuse, and partly on the violinist Eugene Fodor, who had a full and rich career. He modeled Ruth Lasker partly on Ruth Laredo (née Ruth Meckler), who began her career accompanying her husband Jaime Laredo but ultimately became famous in her own right. For this novel, Machlis researched the subject of drug addiction, attending meetings of Alcoholics Anonymous while studying the horrors of barbiturate dependence. His depiction of Danny Sachs, from his initial use of drugs to his experience in the rehabilitation center, demonstrates a thorough knowledge of drug-related problems.

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Notes

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1. Although opinions differ about the number of years Machlis taught at Queens College, personnel documents confirm that Machlis's association with Queens lasted for thirty-seven years, from his appointment in September 1938 to his retirement in September 1975.
2. As told to me by Phyllis Pollack, Joseph Machlis's niece, although Luba called herself "Luba," "Liuba" appears on her gravestone; regarding the five children from Luba's first marriage, "Czorny" was changed to "Black" when the family arrived in the United States.
3. City College, founded in 1847 by Townsend Harris (predating the Midwestern state land-grant colleges by roughly two decades), provided new immigrants and the children of the poor who lived in New York City with an accessible and challenging college experience.
4. The Donizetti performance marked the beginning of a love affair between Machlis and the old Metropolitan Opera House, where over the years, he heard all the legendary singers, such as Maria Callas, Robert Merrill, Jan Peerce, Renata Tebaldi, and Richard Tucker.
5. The term "lost generation"—an expression coined by Gertrude Stein during an exchange with Ernest Hemingway—refers to the many artists and writers who rejected

American materialism in the 1920s and relocated to Paris to practice their unconventional lifestyle.

6. Paul Henry Lang would soon publish his classic *Music in Western Civilization* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1941)—an important textbook on the history of music and musical culture—and subsequently became chief music critic for the *New York Herald Tribune*.
7. His father Alter, seeing Luba on her deathbed and remembering her as he first saw her, said: “How can such a beautiful woman die?” He remarried ten years later, but when he died in 1951, he was buried, as was Luba, in the New Montefiore Cemetery on Long Island.
8. These recordings included selections from Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, Chopin, Grieg, Haydn, Mendelssohn, Mozart, Schubert, Schumann, Strauss, and Tchaikovsky (some of the recordings have survived and occasionally appear on the web sites of antique dealers).
9. Machlis played like Olin Downes, author of *The Lure of Music* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1918) and for three decades chief music critic of the *New York Times*, who loved the piano but made many mistakes and would always say: “It’s the essence that counts.”
10. Richard Milner, an expert on Charles Darwin, celebrates Darwin in his book *Darwin’s Universe: Evolution from A to Z* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009) and in his one-man musical *Charles Darwin: Live & in Concert* (see www.darwinlive.com). Milner also recalls telling Machlis a story about Leonard Bernstein, who, ready to perform in Europe on the Jewish High Holy Days with the New York Philharmonic but asked by protesting Jewish musicians that he, as a Jew, not honor the booking, replied by handing them a card with two words in Hebrew characters, which, when transliterated, spelled out F**K YOU. Having heard this story from his parents, who knew the first violinist of the New York Philharmonic, Milner told it to Machlis at the end of a class in which Machlis had delighted his students with anecdotes about Bernstein, although Milner felt too embarrassed to repeat the words of the punchline since at that time, students simply did not use such language to a professor. Milner said: “The card contained two common words that you see written on bathroom walls.” Machlis asked: “What were the two words?” Milner replied: “Oh, you know them.” Machlis persisted: “Well, what were they?” Milner replied: “I just can’t say them.” Finally, Machlis exclaimed with a triumphant laugh: “You mean F**K YOU. That’s a very funny story.”
11. Yet Eddie Simon, Paul Simon’s brother and manager, has informed me that Machlis did not in any way influence Paul’s decision to enroll in law school, although he did earn Paul’s admiration as a professor during the years that Paul had studied at Queens College.
12. As Machlis indicated in an early resumé, the pamphlets/recordings were published by Greystone Press, now defunct and not mentioned anywhere in the pamphlets (some of the pamphlets have survived and occasionally appear on the web sites of antique dealers).
13. These recordings included selections from Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, Chopin, Debussy, Haydn, Mendelssohn, Mozart, Schubert, Schumann, Liszt, and Tchaikovsky

(all the recordings [CMS Records] are in the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts).

14. See Joseph Machlis, "Problems of an Opera Translator," *New York Herald Tribune*, 16 February 1958, where, while commenting on the NBC Opera Company's performance of *Rigoletto*, he criticizes the "perturbation-consolation" school of translators.

15. See Joseph Machlis, "Le Mot Juste," *Opera News* 43 (13 January 1979): 24–27, where, while describing his experience with *Dialogues des Carmélites*, he explains how he took greater liberties with Poulenc's melodic line than with operas he had already translated.

16. See, for example, her books *Hollywood, the Dream Factory: An Anthropologist Studies the Movie Makers* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1950) and *Stranger and Friend: The Way of an Anthropologist* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966)—a retrospect on all her major works.

17. For two superb obituaries of Tourel, see Allen Hughes, "Jennie Tourel, Mezzo-Soprano in Opera, Is Dead," *New York Times*, 25 November 1973, and Leonard Bernstein, "Jennie Tourel—1910–1973," *New York Times*, 9 December 1973.

18. See Jeanne S. Bamberger and Howard Brofsky, *The Art of Listening* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969)—the textbook Brofsky introduced as an alternative to Machlis's—setting the precedent for using different music appreciation textbooks at Queens College.

19. See the Hugo Weisgall Papers in the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts for this undated letter, in which Machlis also expressed his regrets that even his friends had gone against him—"my beloved friend George fulminating against me like an ogre."

20. Yet David Del Tredici informed me that he did not start teaching at Juilliard until the 1990s, invalidating the thrust of Machlis's assertion but not eliminating the possibility (as Del Tredici himself also made clear) that he may have recommended Machlis for the job.

21. Machlis also published a new edition of his *Introduction to Contemporary Music* soon after he began teaching at Juilliard, and in 1980, the American Composers Alliance gave him its Laurel Leaf Award for distinguished service to contemporary American music.

22. By 1980, his collection included two paintings by Ellen Adler (Stella Adler's daughter), a collage and gouache by Frances Godowsky (the sibling of George and Ira Gershwin), and a sculpture of Balzac signed by Auguste Rodin, from a single edition of nine cast in 1977.

23. At the peak of the trouble Machlis got into a feud with Kenneth Zitomer, president of the board of directors of the Excelsior: Zitomer claimed that the music was driving him and others crazy; Machlis, that his neighbors wanted his door open in order to hear the music.

24. See Susan Heller Anderson, "A Host Who Shall Have Music Wherever He Goes," *New York Times*, 3 December 1982, for one such journalist's impressions of a typical Machlis musicale, including stimulating comments from several of the guests.

25. On 28 October 1990, at Alice Tully Hall, Kuzmin played the solo piano version (=the solo's premiere) of *The Blue Hula*, composed a decade earlier by Tobias Picker

(a former student of Machlis at Juilliard) and dedicated to Machlis and the novelist Aryeh Stollman.

26. Machlis invited Bernstein to his soirées, not only to have him hear Kuzmin perform but also to celebrate Alger Hiss, the government official accused of spying for the Soviet Union, in whose honor Machlis would hold a party every year around the time of Hiss's birthday. Wanting Bernstein to hear Kuzmin play Schumann's Toccata, Op. 7, Machlis tried to lure him to a party by means of a trick (as I learned from both Kuzmin and Vodovoz). He told Bernstein that his (Bernstein's) mother had told him in a dream to ask her son to go to the party—a strategy that he also adopted for a party he was arranging for Hiss. In 1987, fourteen years after the death of Jennie Tourel, Machlis wrote to Bernstein that Tourel had told him in a dream to invite Bernstein to Hiss's eighty-third birthday party. Machlis added that without him the party would be like a plate of chicken soup without the *knaidlach* (the Yiddish word for "matzo balls"); Bernstein replied: "Sorry—won't be able to—unless unforeseen changes. Love to Jennie T." And in 1988, employing the same strategy for a third time, Machlis wrote to Bernstein that Tourel again had told him to invite Bernstein to a party he was planning. This time the culinary simile came directly from Tourel: "Without him your party will be like a herring without the salt or a plate of borscht without the sour cream"—a request that Bernstein apparently did not acknowledge.

27. I have not been able to obtain this tantalizing letter either from Ellen Adler or from the University of Texas Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, one of whose archivists informed me that the Stella Adler Papers do not contain any letters composed by Machlis.

28. See Peter B. Flint, "Stella Adler, 91, an Actress and Teacher of the Method," *New York Times*, 22 December 1992, for an excellent retrospect on Adler, from the time she appeared on the Yiddish stage to her ongoing involvement with the Stella Adler Studio.

29. See Ralph Blumenthal, "Honoring a Man of Music with (What Else?) Music," *New York Times*, 24 October 1996, for a full description of the celebration held at the Kosciuszko Foundation before an audience of one hundred and twenty-five guests.

30. See Allan Kozinn, "Joseph Machlis, 92, Music Textbook Author," *New York Times*, 19 October 1998, for an outstanding retrospect on Machlis, summarizing his accomplishments in the field of music appreciation and in support of young musicians.

31. In the opinion of Phyllis Pollack, Joseph Machlis's niece, Scarlata and Stowe stole the show with their brilliant rendition of Ravel's *Kaddish*, inspired by the traditional Jewish prayer for the dead—a highly appropriate selection for the occasion of Machlis's memorial.

32. See Joseph Machlis, *On the Teaching of Music Appreciation* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963), 3–9, esp. 8–9, for Machlis's exhortation to teachers of classical music, and 9–20 for his comprehensive vision of instruction in a first-year sequence in music appreciation.

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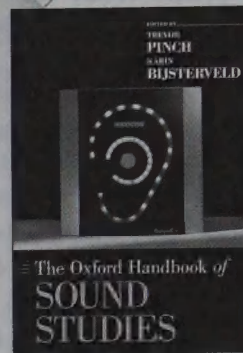
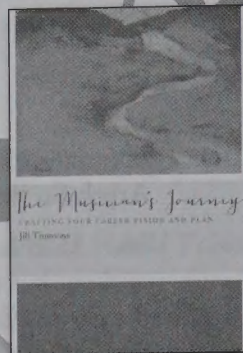
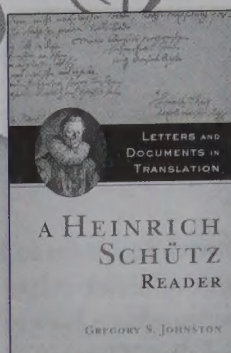
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